The Intersectional Experiences of Young and Educated Latine Men's Masculinity: An Exploration of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Skin Tone, Sexual Orientation, and Region of Origin

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THE INTERSECTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG AND EDUCATED LATINE

MEN'S MASCULINITY: AN EXPLORATION OF GENDER, RACE, ETHNICITY,

SKIN TONE, SEXUAL ORIENTATION, AND REGION OF ORIGIN

by

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ABSTRACT

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by

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Latine masculinity is often studied using unidimensional concepts, like *machismo*
or *caballerismo*, that fail to consider the intersectional identities of Latine men. The aims
of this study were to (a) understand how cultural and intersectional experiences influence
the shared construction of Latine masculinity and (b) give voice to and celebrate the
diverse constructions of masculinity by attending to intersections with skin tone, region
of origin, and sexual orientation. Twelve Latine cisgender men living in the U.S.
discussed their masculine identity construction via a semistructured interview and artifact
sharing. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), guided by intersectional,
borderlands, and social identity theories, was used to develop thematic meaning in the
shared and diverse construction of masculinity for these Latine men. Results indicated
that intersectional experiences of privilege and oppression greatly influenced their gender
identity formation. Additionally, participants demonstrated borderlands constructions of

masculinity as they negotiated authentic and safe gender expressions contingent on their cultural context. Findings suggest that additional research around the diverse experiences of Latine men based on intersecting identities are warranted to further capture the individual and cultural intricacies of Latine masculinity formation. Further implications and directions for future research are discussed.

(207 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

The Intersectional Experiences of Young and Educated Latine Men's Masculinity: An

Exploration of Gender, Race, Skin Tone, Sexual Orientation, and Region of Origin

Juan Estrada

Latine masculinity is often looked at through simplistic concepts like *machismo*

or *caballerismo*, which fail to fully consider the different aspects of Latine men's

identities. For example, how might a cisgender, gay, dark skinned, Latine man

understand his masculinity as he moves between Latine and United Statesian cultures. In

this study, we wanted to do two things: first, we wanted to understand how the cultural

and intersectional aspects of their lives shape how Latine men see their masculinity.

Second, we wanted to celebrate the diverse ways in which they express their masculinity,

considering things like their skin color, region of origin, and sexual orientation. We

talked to 12 Latine cisgender men who live in the U.S. about how they see themselves as

masculine. We used a semistructured interview and asked them to bring artifacts that

represent their masculinity to the interview for discussion. We then analyzed their

responses using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which allowed us to

incorporate ideas from intersectional, borderlands, and social identity theories. We found

that these men's experiences of privilege and oppression, based on different aspects of

their identity, shaped the ways they saw themselves as men. They also discussed different

ways of expressing their masculinity depending on their cultural context, as they moved

between Latine and white United Statesian spaces. Overall, our study suggests much

more to explore with regard to the experiences of Latine men, especially when we consider all the different aspects of their identities. This could help us better understand how Latine masculinity is formed and expressed. We also talk about some ideas for future research in this area and implications for the field.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

This study was inspired by conversations in informal settings with close colleagues about our own experiences as Latine men. We began with a desire to host a roundtable event at the National Latinx Psychological Association in 2020 but unfortunately were unable to due to the COVID pandemic. We designed a space to discuss the dissonance we felt in our traditional expressions of masculinity that were hurting us and those in our circles, as we simultaneously grappled with our newly acknowledged privileges during graduate school. This process felt healing, to learn about and unpack our masculinity, ethnicity, and intersections gave us flexibility to better navigate multiple contexts. With this in mind, we embarked on a project to study how other Latine men were conceptualizing their masculinities to expand the breath of understanding of the diverse expression of masculinities among this population.

The majority of the interpretation, meaning making, and writing is done by me; however, I utilize the term *we* throughout the document to signify the influence that my ancestors, family, friends, professor, advisors, and the consultation team had on my development of these interpretations. I want to celebrate their contributions to my development as a scholar and in doing so I use the term we throughout. I will specify when the consultation team or my advisor are directly involved in the analysis of the data.

This data from the interviews and member checking was analyzed and presented as the participant's experiences and impressions. We did not attempt to verify or validate whether these participants truly behaved in complete adherence to what they were sharing. The value of this project was to authentically present the experiences of these men, both in shared meaning and diverse voices. Often times we all, as people, may articulate our opinions about social systems and yet continue to abide by these rules because of the deep socialization experiences that impact our identities, relationships, and corresponding behaviors. It would be understandable if these men had similar interactions.

Summary of Paper

Traditional scholarly work on masculinity has defined this concept in a singular and often hegemonic way. Hegemonic masculinity refers to men's dominance over women and non-traditional men through patriarchal practices (Messerschmidt, 2015). Much of the existing literature has failed to consider the contextual factors that shape expression and experiences of masculinity, such as race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and historical background. Not all men benefit from or conceptualize their masculinity in the same way, as intersectional identities, culture, oppression, and privilege all influence gendered experiences of Latine men in the U.S. (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). The Latine population is the largest and fastest growing ethnically minoritized group in the U.S (U.S Census Bureau, 2020), thus exploring the psychosocial factors associated with issues of masculinity, intersectionality, sexism, and power among Latine is merited. It is important

for us to have clear understandings of the way in which Latine men construct masculinity to improve our educational, clinical, and research interventions for healthier within and cross-gender relationships.

Traditional ways of understanding masculinity in Latine men have focused on concepts like *machismo*, which includes themes of strength, dominance, violence, seductiveness, and non-emotionality (Torres et al., 2002). These manifestations of machismo are rooted in Colonialism, creating a cis-hetero-patriarchal view of gender roles and masculinity (R. L. Ortiz, 2019). Embracing machismo demands adherence to rigid gender role schemas, which expose Latine individuals to traditional gender role strain. Masculinity can be toxic if it encourages males to participate in negative activities that define power and "maleness" through physical strength, aggression, heavy drinking, risk taking, and virility. An example might be perceiving women as weak and easy subjects for "domination and abuse" (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016, p. 56). Indeed, toxic masculinity encompasses gendered pressure on men to embody concepts of hypersexuality, power, control over women, strength, aggression, and emotional coldness (Kupers, 2005). Recent research, however, supports the evolving and complex nature of the concept of masculinity within Latine cultures and rejects the notion of singular masculinity. An intersectional and feminist view of Latines promotes a more positive conceptualization of masculinity (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). Positive masculinity may be defined as a strength-based movement highlighting the healthy and helpful aspects of masculinity in male identity development encompassing subconstructs of *caballerismo, respect,* and *affection* (Englar-

Carlson & Kiselica, 2013).

Hurtado and Sinha (2016) formulated a more multifaceted and dynamic conceptualization of Latine masculinity, drawing from intersectional, social identity and borderlands theories. These authors invoked intersectional theory to provide a contextual understanding of Latine men's masculinity based on factors of culture, context, identity, and intersections of these identities (Crenshaw, 1990; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). As the study of intersectional masculinity continues to develop, it is important to consider different factors that might contribute to the understanding of masculinity of Latines. Given that masculinity is an important aspect of Latine culture that may influence behavior, sexuality, and identity among Latinos, further exploration of these dimensions may enhance our efforts to support positive interpersonal relationships between and among Latine individuals of all genders.

Latine people are often grouped together based on shared cultural and ethnic factors, rooted in Spanish conquest of Indigenous land, in the U.S. (Aparicio, 2016). This happens even though Latine people significantly vary in factors such as race, gender, skin tone, dialect, religion, sexuality, generational status, socioeconomic status (SES), and region of origin. For example, in a study of over 1,057 articles only about 2.2% examined skin color among the Latine samples (Fuentes et al., 2021). The impact of skin tone often manifests in many communities in the U.S. through colorism, prejudice, and discrimination based on skin complexion, usually favoring lighter skin (Uzogara, 2021). Colorism has been shown to have significant impacts on Latine people's experiences of discrimination (Monk, 2021), psychological adjustment (Mena et al., 2020), academic

self-efficacy (Y Kim & Calzada, 2019). The literature on the intersectional influences of skin tone and masculinity among Latine men is limited. Some findings suggest interesting dynamics of darker skinned individuals being seen as more dominant and masculine (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004), while others suggest that lighter skin might provide Latine men access to United Statesian privileges closer to hegemonic masculinity (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). However, these findings used a niche group of Latine individuals and only indirectly measured masculinity.

In addition to differentiation in skin tone, it is important to consider differences based on region of origin. There has been a call in Latine studies to appreciate the diversity among Latine people based on country and region of origin (Adames et al., 2021). This is an important factor to consider in intersectional work as the cultural and historical reasons that brought Latine of different regions to the U.S. vary greatly. For example, many immigrated to the U.S. for political reasons (e.g., Cubans), while others for education and occupational opportunities (e.g., South Americans), and others once lived in these regions before being dispersed by colonization and military force (e.g., Mexicans; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). These accounts are simply examples of the differences among Latine people and are not expected to completely encompass the experiences of any single Latine individual. Still, these examples show the diversity among Latine groups and how these factors can have varied influences on intersectional experiences of Latines.

Latine men experience a complex and contextual relationship with masculinity that has personal, familial, and institutional impacts on the lives of Latine people in the

U.S. Unpacking and exploring gender identity can provide individuals with increased awareness regarding intersecting systems of gender and ethnic disparities (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). This sort of exploration can provide fruitful data to our field regarding mechanisms that maintain unhealthy systems of power between genders and gender expression. The purpose of this study was to give voice to Latine men's intersectional experiences of masculinity considering factors such as race, skin tone, region of origin, and other factors that participants bring to the study. Through an intersectional lens, these experiences were interpreted by analyzing issues of oppression and power. To explore these concepts, this study utilized an interpretative phenomenological qualitative approach. This form of inquiry allowed for interpretation of the phenomenon of Latine masculinity in consideration of context, experience, and intersectional factors (Davidsen, 2013; Larkin & Thompson, 2011). The aim was to provide voice and meaning to the shared and diverse experiences of Latine men (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Open-ended and exploratory interviews, artifact sharing, and member checking were used to create a collaborative understanding of Latine men's masculinity through an intersectional lens.

We chose the term *Latine* for our study intentionally. We decided against terms such as *Latina/o* that are rooted in masculine-centric, cisgender-normed, and gender binary systems (Padilla, 2016; Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2020). Instead, we focused on inclusive terms like *Latine or Latinx* that better encompasses Latin people of all genders, with intention in representative language that captures transgender and gender nonconforming individuals inside Latin culture (Salinas & Lozano, 2019; Scharrón-del Río & Aja, 2020). We preferred the term *Latine* to *Latinx* to not only incorporate

inclusive language in written language, but also in oral dialogue since the vocalization of *Latinx* tends to take an English pronunciation (Salcedo, 2010; Slemp, 2020). *Latine* attends to both needs of having a gender inclusive term and that stays true to Spanish pronunciation. We additionally decided to use the term *Latine men*, as opposed to *Latinos* (depicting male identifying Latines) in efforts to include those who might not identify within a binary of gender but do identify with the Latine experience of presenting male and/or expressing masculinity.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This section reviews contemporary literature on masculinity theory and empirical research. Latine masculinity is then discussed and conceptualized through modern literature rooted in intersectional, borderlands, and social identity theories. Furthermore, intersectional identities of Latine men are discussed with an emphasis on ethnicity, skin tone and region of origin.

Contemporary Masculinity Theory

Masculinity has been presented as a homogenous concept throughout much of early literature (Cheng, 1999; Connell, 1995; Pleck, 1983). Specifically, early theoretical, and empirical work lacked diversity of measurement and expression. This older approach to masculinity endorsed the idea that biological sex determines and predicts behavior. Hegemonic masculinity is best defined as the configuration of gender roles in which patriarchal powers continue to link men with dominance and women with subordination (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity describes an Anglocentric approach to which all men must adhere, legitimizing domination and hegemony over women and non-traditional men (Messerschmidt, 2015). In fact, hegemonic masculinity controls and dominates other forms of masculinity in men who do not adhere to gender role expectations, or are minoritized based on race, ethnicity, sexuality, or other factors (Lusher & Robins, 2009). Effeminate men for example, would be seen as lesser men in their expression of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

However, contemporary scholars argue to include an analysis of contextual influences and gendered social learning to understand men's masculinity (Addis et al., 2010; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Current agreement among social scientists is that masculinity is not unidimensional and can be expressed and experienced in many forms. Acknowledgement of the multifaceted nature and varied expression of masculinity has led scholars to adopt the term "masculinities" and to conceptualize all forms of masculinity as socially constructed (Messerschmidt, 2015). Keeping in mind the contextual and systematic influences on conceptualization and expression of masculinity provides a more thorough understanding of men's position within these traits.

Hegemonic masculinity invokes the construct of hegemony (e.g., leadership or dominance, especially by one country or social group over others) in relation to men's privileged position over women in patriarchal cultures (Cheng, 1999). Hegemonic masculinity consolidates gender imbalances in power in patriarchal societies (Messerschmidt, 2015). Thus, embracing masculinity among men can be understood as not simply a desire to be dominant over less masculine people (e.g., women, sexuality-minority men, non-binary individuals), but a hegemonic, almost "royal" claim to supremacy. While not all men support this masculine paradigm, it is argued that all men must acknowledge it and interact with it accordingly. Additionally, those who fail to comply with the norms of hegemonic masculinity may be placed in less privileged positions relative to those who fit it. Examples of these may be men in the LGBQT+ community and those expressing more feminine traits (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Much of the classic and contemporary literature addressing masculinity, including

more recent analysis of contextual factors that influence men's masculine identities, tends to lack attention to the added layer of ethnicity, race, and historical context. While hegemonic masculinity sheds light into many of the patterns of patriarchal societies, it is limited in its lack of consideration for intersectional identities and historical influences of discrimination and oppression. Latine studies in general and, in terms of masculinity, are rooted in Colonialism, often embracing a Western European cis-hetero-patriarchal view of gender roles and masculinity (R. L. Ortiz, 2019). This lens of colonization applied to masculinity studies has undermined a fluid conceptualization of gender and sexuality that might have been present in Indigenous American cultures. Important to the understanding of Latine masculinity, in the U.S. especially, one must consider both hegemonic and patriarchal privilege, as well as the enduring influence of colonization and marginalization of Latine communities.

Masculinity in a Latine Cultural Framework

Understanding Latine masculinity requires grounding in multiple theories that draw from feminist studies and Critical Race Theory. Collectively, social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981), borderlands theory (Anzaldúa, 1987), and intersectional theory (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1989; Hurtado, 1996) provide a theoretical framework that situates the current study in contemporary literature. In this vein, I aligned with Hurtado and Sinha (2016), who introduced a nuanced and complex view of masculinity in their book *Beyond Machismo*. Their approach builds on the three aforementioned theories to highlight next steps in exploring the complexity of masculinity among Latine men.

Social identity theory differentiates the development of personal identity from that of social identity. Social identity is defined by processes involving one's identification within and outside of social groups and entities (Tajfel, 1981). While social identity theory does not solely focus on the social identity piece, it conceptualizes personal identity formation within context and helps explain how social identity is developed (Tajfel, 1981). In essence, one's social context influences formulation of both the personal and social identity.

Borderlands theory is helpful in explaining many of the experiences of Latine individuals who navigate a hybrid consciousness space of "neither here nor there." Anzaldúa (1987) introduced the term "new mestiza" to conceptualize this third or higher consciousness beyond any one cultural ideology. Scholarship framed from a borderlands theoretical perspective conceptualizes the US-Mexico border as both a physical and symbolic separation between cultures that is central to the experience of many Latine people in the U.S. In this case the "borderlands" is the space between and within borders, or different cultures in which hybrid and multicultural consciousness is fostered. Borderlands theory explains "borderland identities" among many Latine individuals who have been influenced by more than one culture, oftentimes in conflicting ways (Lennes, 2019). Latine masculinities may be better understood as "borderland masculinities," in which men use subjective accounts of borderland consciousness to construct their gender identity. Latine men may then struggle with tension and conflict at the borderlands of different cultures, privileges, and injustices.

Intersectionality theory was developed from feminist movements and studies

(Crenshaw, 1990; Hurtado, 1996). Chicana feminist scholars have further advanced the theoretical framework, demonstrating the impact of multiple identity components, such as gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity, interacting to construct social identity (Vasquez, 2003). Intersectionality scholars have paved the way for masculinity studies to benefit from such innovative works. Historically, much of the earlier intersectionality scholarship focused on intersecting experiences of subordination, but theorists have recently begun to address contradictory patterns of privilege and oppression, such as Latine men's position of privilege in a patriarchal world while experiencing subordination based on race, ethnicity, and skin tone (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Understanding the diverse manifestation of patriarchy in different cultural contexts is important to a more thorough conceptualization of Latine masculinities (Zinn & Dill, 1996). A hegemonic definition of masculinity for example, does not represent Men of Color or the LGBTQ+ community well, in that they are systematically excluded from certain aspects of privilege (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008).

Hurtado and Sinha (2016) combined core concepts from social learning, borderlands, and intersectionality theories to present a nuanced understanding of Latine masculinity. They rejected the simplicity of a hegemonic masculinity for Latine men. Early research on masculinity in Latine men focused on concepts like machismo, incorporating themes of strength, dominance, violence, seductiveness, and non-emotionality (Torres et al., 2002). As a challenge to more unidimensional definitions of masculinity, Hurtado and Sinha invoked the concept of intersectional identities, examining the historical and present contextual influences on men's social identity

formation. Considering notions of privilege, oppression, and borderlands consciousness, the study of masculinity has increased in complexity among Men of Color. Hurtado and Sinha claimed that intersecting identity related factors, such as educational status, exposure to feminist studies, and relationships with women in families and close social networks allow Latine men to develop complex and feminist conceptualizations of their own masculinity. Thus, many Latine men define their masculinity outside of the hegemonic definition of white United Statesian and in a relational and ethical manner (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Hurtado & Sinha, 2008).

Toxic Masculinity (*Machismo*), Positive Masculinity, and *Caballerismo*

Toxic masculinity is defined by the association of maleness with physical strength, aggression, heavy drinking, risk taking, and sexual potency (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; de Boise, 2019; Henry, 2017; Posadas, 2017). Competition and dominance serve as driving motivations in the context of toxic masculinity (Berdahl et al., 2018). Toxic masculinity manifests in heterosexual romantic relationships in the form of extreme power imbalances, demanding submissiveness from partners, promiscuity, and domineering or abusive behaviors (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). In addition, gendered pressure on men to embody hypersexuality, power, control, strength, aggression, and emotional constraint (Kupers, 2005) limits opportunities for relational intimacy and results in nearly all interactions being defined by a win-lose dynamic (Bhana, 2012; Burns, 2017). Toxic masculinity has been associated with suppression of men's emotionality (Wong & Wester, 2015), engagement in violence (Burns, 2017), and sexual

and physical violence towards women (Bhana, 2012).

In the literature on gender role socialization in Latine cultures, the term machismo is commonly referenced. Most definitions of machismo map closely to the concept of toxic masculinity. Machismo is often described as masculinity defined by power, violence, emotional distance, seductiveness, and sexual virility (Torres et al., 2002). It tends to include hypermasculine traits like dominance over women, control, and anger (Hirai et al., 2014). Machismo includes a hegemonic and troubling relationship with women, expressed in sexist and misogynistic overt behaviors (Alcalde, 2011; Henry, 2017). Often, machismo and toxic masculinity are expressed through complete rejection of anything perceived as feminine, weak, or passive (Alcalde, 2011; Henry, 2017; Kupers, 2005). Additionally, machismo encompasses a rejection of emotional vulnerability and availability (Ojeda & Pina-Watson, 2014) which has been shown to be associated with negative cognitive-emotional factors like depression, anxiety, and anger in Latine men and women (Nuñez et al., 2016). Machismo has been further associated with the term "bad hombres," in which the media and Trump campaign depicted Latine men as criminals, rapists, and drug dealers (Mendoza-Denton, 2017). Many of the manifestations of machismo are rooted in Colonialism, embracing a cis-hetero-patriarchal view of gender roles and masculinity (R. L. Ortiz, 2019). This historical context demonstrates modern adherence to rigid gender role schemas which expose Latine individuals to traditional gender role stigma.

Recent theory and research, however, supports the evolving and complex nature of the concept of masculinity within Latine cultures and rejects the notion of a singular

definition of masculinity. An intersectional and feminist view of Latines promotes a positive conceptualization of masculinity (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Estrada & Arciniega, 2015; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). A counter term to toxic masculinity is "positive masculinity," derived from a strength-based movement highlighting the healthy and helpful aspects of masculinity in male identity development, encompassing sub-constructs of caballerismo, respect, and affection (Englar-Carlson & Kiselica, 2013). Furthermore, positive masculinity often involves prosocial behavior, such as being compassionate, helpful, and promoting well-being in both self and others (Isacco et al., 2012). It can often include traditionally defined masculine characteristics such as courage, autonomy, perseverance, and strength (Englar-Carlson & Kiselica, 2013). Scholars of positive masculinity argue that many traditional masculine qualities have a positive aspect. However, the literature on positive masculinity does not necessarily tackle the intersectional dimensions of Latine masculinity. *Caballerismo* comprises one interesting form of positive masculinity in Latine men. This term refers to a chivalrous form of helpful behavior that is associated with positive Latino men qualities (Ojeda & Pina-Watson, 2014), a masculinity that involves nurturance, emotionality, and respect (Nuñez et al., 2016). The major traits of *caballerismo* are commitment to family, bravery, and chivalrous behavior. Higher levels of *caballerismo* have been associated with increased satisfaction in ethnic identity and with openness to others (Arciniega et al., 2008). *Caballerismo* also links to higher social support and life satisfaction (Estrada & Arciniega, 2015). It has even predicted connectedness to school among college attending Latinos (Estrada & Jiménez, 2018). *Caballerismo*, as a construct, demonstrates that

Latine masculinity can show positive, and complex associations with well-being for Latines and others.

Other forms of positive masculinities include borderland and feminist masculinity. As defined earlier, borderland masculinities include an understanding of Latine men's subjective accounts of gender identity based on social and intellectual spaces constructed in-between at least two different cultures. In these spaces, Latine men can comprehend their masculinity based on conflict and resolution found within the borderlands of different cultures and groups of belonging (Lennes, 2019). Feminist masculinity was described by Hurtado and Sinha (2016) as an expression of positive male traits that incorporate an imagined and empathetic appreciation for women's experiences. The authors found this addition to the Latine men's expression of masculinity when considering men's intersectional identities, proximity to women with feminist viewpoints, experience with women in their lives, and educational exposure (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016).

Thus, extant literature suggests a multifaceted framework regarding how the construct of masculinity should be represented among Latines. In general, these diverse conceptualizations of masculinity demonstrate a contextual and social influence on Latine men's masculine identity formation. Furthermore, recent studies have demonstrated an *adaptive masculinity,* referring to Latine men adapting their presentation of masculinity to more patriarchal and white systems to benefit from power and privilege in their social setting. Ferro (2020) interviewed six immigrant Dominican men to discuss the intersectional masculinity of men navigating power and discrimination. The appreciation

and exploration of intersectional social identities is important to the work being done in masculine studies. Work in intersectional masculine studies considers issues of race, gender, class, and sexuality, SES, and other intersecting factors (e.g., Ferro, 2020). However, there had not been as much attention afforded to identity factors such as region of origin, skin tone and generational status. Given that masculinity is an important aspect of Latine culture that may influence behavior, sexuality, and identity among Latine men, further exploration of these dimensions may increase our efforts to better understand the interpersonal relationships between and among Latine individuals of all genders.

Cultural Factors Intersecting with Masculinity

Too often, theory and research in Latine studies suggests that the experiences across subgroups of Latine individuals must be the same, despite differences in race, gender, skin tone, region of origin, generational status, and many other factors. In fact, the utility of the term "Latine" for individuals of Latin American descent can be debated based on an individual's unique sense of self and social identity. Latine people are often grouped together based on their status as ethnic minoritized people (Aparicio, 2016). However, diversity within this ethnic group is bountiful and there are complex and contradictory identity factors that differentiate the experiences of Latine people in the U.S. In her book, Aparicio questioned what constitutes a Latine person exactly, asking when does someone of Latin American origin become a U.S. Latine? Or at what point do intersectional variables, such as political affiliation/beliefs, nationality, regionality, sexuality, skin tone, or SES play enough of a role that considering a homogeneous ethnic

group of Latine people no longer makes sense (Aparicio, 2016)? It is important to

consider the interactions, conflicts, collaborations, and power issues among and within

Latine groups and individuals in the U.S. Within the Latine community, there are

differences that need to be appreciated in the experiences of different Latine peoples. A

number of these factors will be explored below.

Colorism

Colorism is defined as discrimination and prejudice based on someone's skin tone

(e.g., Uzogara, 2021). Using a pan-ethnic Latine label to consider the experiences of all

people of Latin American descent denies the inequities faced by darker skinned Latines

when compared to those who are of lighter complexion (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014).

This inequity highlights the issue of colorism within the U.S.' overall, and specifically

within the Latine population. This is a particularly interesting topic for Latine groups,

given that Latinidad is an ethnic designation that is often racialized (Uzogara, 2021). Skin

tone is an integral reason as to why and how observers assign individuals to this Latine

label (Feliciano, 2016). In fact, skin tone/color can greatly moderate the experiences of

two people of the same race when it comes to discrimination and racism (Monk, 2021).

In Black American literature for example, increases in Afrocentric and darkness

appearance are associated with higher levels of discrimination (Maddox & Chase, 2004).

While it should be noted that skin color and race are different concepts for all racial and

ethnic groups, in Latine communities, two Latine individuals may be treated differently

based on both skin tone and race. Similar to the findings in Black Americans, researchers

have shown that darkness in complexion and more Indigenous facial features are

associated with increased discrimination and punishment for Latine people (Lavariega

Monforti & Sanchez, 2010; White, 2015). In Latine spaces, skin color can influence how

individuals feel about their own Latine authenticity and relates to experiences of social

exclusion among Latines (Haywood, 2017). It is imperative that the field of Latine

psychology include research exploring unique experiences of Latine people based on

phenotypic differences in race and skin color (Adames et al., 2021).

　　　In the U.S., discrimination based on phenotype follows a pattern in which lighter

tone is preferred to dark, straight and fine hair is preferred over curly coarse hair and

European facial features are preferred over Indigenous or Afrocentric features (Russell et

al., 1993). This form of discrimination may be perpetrated by white United Statesians but

is also present within the Latine and ethnic communities. The social caste system based

on color and skin tone was brought into Latin American by Spanish colonialism (Castillo

& Abril, 2009). The system of privileging European features ensured ongoing societal

and political control by Spanish conquerors over Indigenous and African people (Castillo

& Abril, 2009; Ogbu, 1994). The system positioned Spaniards at the top, with Indigenous

and African people at the bottom and those who were *mestizo* (mixed European and

Indigenous ancestry) holding social status in between with lighter complexions closer to

the top (Katzew, 1996). However, the notion of *mestizaje*, that there are no class systems

in modern Latin America because all people are considered *mestizo or mulato* (mixed

European and African ancestry) has been used to maintain inequity based on skin tone

(Gates, 2011). Those of lighter skin and more obvious European ancestry continued to

hold privilege and power while denying racism or discrimination based on blindly

denying racial or class hierarchies. The practice of pretending that there are no racial disparities as a strategy for avoiding acknowledging privilege is also evident in the prolific literature on color-blindness in the U.S. (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014).

Colorism and skin tone discrimination have been associated with negative impacts on Latine people's mental health (e.g., Norwood, 2014). Further links were observed with poorer educational attainment, lower income, and more discrimination stress when compared to white individuals (Arce et al., 1987). Additionally, darker skin in Latine people has been connected to higher prevalence of hypertension and lower self-rated health (Borrell & Crawford, 2006). Skin color dissatisfaction has been shown to negatively impact Latine youth adjustment when perceived as a foreigner (Kiang et al., 2020). Furthermore, colorism is related to political opinion among Latine people. One study found that, among Latine men, lighter skinned men were less opposed to U.S. border wall policies when compared to medium or darker skinned Latinos (Uzogara, 2021).

There is little research on the intersectional effects of skin tone or colorism and masculinity among Latine men. However, some studies have demonstrated a complex interaction between these factors among other Men of Color. For example, Black men were perceived to be more masculine than white men by a group of undergraduate students at a large state university (Trautner et al., 2013). Similarly, in a U.S. sample, dark skin and "Blackness" was associated with more masculine traits, including potency and danger. Researchers further argued the fact that Black men were categorized as more masculine and potent made them more likely to be seen as a threat to police. This would

in turn lead to false accusations, arrests, and convictions (Hall, 2015). Veras (2016) also found that lighter skinned men were associated with sensitivity and less masculinity than darker skinned individuals among Black men (Veras, 2016). Furthermore, Black fashion was associated with more masculinity and desirability while "Asianness" was seen as effeminate and less attractive among Youth of Color (Newman, 2019; Skeggs, 2004). Among Latine gay and bisexual men, darker skin was associated with more masculinity and active sexual role while lighter skin was associated with femininity and passive sexual role (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004). Research on the intersection of masculinity and skin tone is still in its infancy, but one qualitative study exploring this interaction among Black American men begins the conversation on this topic.

Veras (2016) used focus groups to ask 10 Black American men about their experiences of gender, masculinity, race, and skin tone. Common themes centered around stereotypes felt by Black men based on their skin tone and of other Black men's complexion. As mentioned above, light skinned men were perceived to be more sensitive, soft, and less masculine. Darker skinned men in this group were considered tougher, dangerous, and therefore more masculine. Men of both light and dark-skinned complexion in this study expressed internal conflict due to pressures of hypermasculinity ideology. There was pressure to either display more toughness and aggression to meet this standard or to withhold from any sort of toughness and aggression to avoid discrimination and prejudice (Veras, 2016). Authenticating one's blackness was another theme brought up by lighter-skinned participants in this study, as they felt they needed to prove their belonging to other African American men (Veras, 2016). Positive stereotypes

were also discussed, such as lighter skinned Black men being able to attract women more easily, and therefore adding value to a Western idea of masculinity in doing so. Darker skinned men endorsed receiving more respect among People of Color, given their complexion. Being perceived as "tough" was linked to more experiences of discrimination, but conversely also provided value in terms of masculinity (Veras, 2016). Thus, the interaction of masculinity, race, and skin color among Men of Color demonstrates the privilege and oppression inherent in holding this mix of identities. Issues of belonging, respect, sexual virility, and group identification were also discussed. Learning how these factors interact for Latine men may yield further knowledge in the study of masculinity. Additionally, understanding how Latine men define masculinity in conjunction with other identity characteristics deserves attention, as most of the findings reported above used a Western/hegemonic interpretation of masculinity.

Region of Origin

There is a wide array of labels that people with Latin American origins living in the U.S. use or are subject to in defining their ethnicity. The terms *Hispanic* and *Latine/a/x/o* are commonly used pan-ethnic labels to group people of Latin American descent with Spanish language influences. These pan-ethnic labels serve a political, social, and economic purpose rooted in colonial history, oppression, and mestizaje (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Sometimes more specific labels are used, identifying a person's country of origin (e.g., *Colombian, Costa Rican, Mexican American*) or region of origin (e.g., *South American, Caribbean*), or referencing a hybrid Latine descent with U.S. influences (e.g., *Chicanx/a/o, Boricua*; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). However, the pan-ethnic

terms, Hispanic and Spanish, were first introduced by the U.S. Census in 1970 to include those of Mexican, Caribbean (e.g., Cuba, Dominican Republican), Puerto Rican, Central American and South American origin (Vidal-Ortiz & Martínez, 2018). It is important to acknowledge the different experiences of Latine people based on their region of origin for multiple reasons. These include colonial and historical immigration factors, cultural practices based on regions, and Spanish dialects (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002).

Historical immigration experiences and circumstances of immigration are unique to different parts of Latin America. For example, the history of indigenous habitation across millennia in territory that was colonized and distributed to the present-day United States challenges a historical narrative that characterizes those of Mexican descent as foreigners (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). As another example, much of Cuban immigration, especially in the 1960-1970s, was driven by political exile and refugee status, leading to a different dynamic in the relationship between this group of Latine people and the U.S. (Aparicio, 2016). In other cases, migration has been voluntary, such as South Americans immigrating to find better education and work opportunities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). It should be noted that these generalized reasons for immigration to the groups above are by no means the experience of all Latine people from these regions. The reason for mentioning these differences is to further clarify the importance of understanding the heterogenous experiences and identity factors of all the people who fall under the umbrella term *Latine*. Increasingly, scholars are asked to publish nation/region of origin in Latine psychological literature. Still, further exploration is needed to continue to appreciate the diverse experiences of Latine people from all

regions of the world (Adames et al., 2021). This study explored the intersectional experiences of Latine men, considering factors such as region of origin, race, and skin tone specifically, while also making room for other identity factors like sexual orientation, generational status, and gender identity.

Current Study

The purpose of this study was to tell the diverse and shared stories of a heterogeneous group of Latine men. Based on different factors such as skin tone, race, region of origin, and those presented by the participants, we explored intersectional stories of being Latine men in the U.S. The function of this study was to explore, understand, and present variable ways that Latine men conceptualize their masculinity based on their own intersecting identity factors. Open-ended and collaborative interviews gave us the ability to achieve this goal and stay true to qualitative methods of data gathering. Additionally, we used artifacts and member checking to triangulate the findings. We utilized interpretive phenomenological analysis and intersectionality theory to find shared meaning and give voice to the experiences shared by these Latine men.

Specific Aims

Aim 1: Understand how Latine men conceptualize their masculinity based on the cultural factors that influence their social identity like skin tone and region of origin.

Aim 2: Give voice to the diverse group of Latine men in their expression of masculinity, oppression, and privilege.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Theoretical Framework

This study combined an intersectional theoretical framework, along with

contextual frameworks of Latine men's masculinity (including borderland and social

identity theory) with an interpretative phenomenological methodology to explore

masculinity experiences of Latine men with varying physical presentations (e.g., skin

tone) and cultural backgrounds (e.g., region/country of origin, generational status).

Intersectional theory (Crenshaw, 1990) provides a framework that critically analyzes

identities within intersecting contextual systems of power and oppression (Crenshaw,

1989; Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). It is crucial to appreciate the intersectional identity

factors that shape the lives of People of Color and provide within and between group

diversity to the study of culture (Bhopal & Preston, 2011; Crenshaw, 1990). These

intersectional factors have been shown to impact a person's well-being including mental,

emotional, physical health (Bonelli & Koeing, 2013). As a researcher working within an

intersectional framework, it is important to uphold three key points. First, multiple

identities are interdependent and interact to create complex understandings of social

identity (Bowleg, 2008). Second, intersectional researchers must understand that an

individual's experiences of multiple identities illuminate systematic and institutional

networks of privilege and oppression (Cole, 2009). Last, it is important to consider the

commonalities found in intersectional work. These similarities are important in bringing

members of different intersecting identities together, in shared experiences of
discrimination and inequity (Bhopal & Preston, 2011; Cole, 2009). Through an
intersectional lens, this study examined the similarity and differences of Latine men's
relationships with their masculinity based on diversity in skin color, region of origin, and
other aspects of identity introduced by participants. For example, sexual orientation as
one of these identity factors was not originally planned into our analysis, but the
frequency that it was discussed by participants led us to include it. Overall, we rejected
the idea that masculinity is the same for all men and specifically for all Latine men, and
we utilized a careful and thorough approach to see the differences in identity formation of
manhood for Latine men.

Phenomenology

Complimenting an overarching intersectional framework, this study relied on
interpretive phenomenological methods. In phenomenological research, the aim is to
understand the social or psychological meaning of a phenomenon or lived experience
shared by a group of individuals (Creswell, 2014; Groenewald, 2004). The work centers
around finding common themes shared by individuals who experience the phenomenon
by giving participants a voice in the expression of the lived experience. In doing so, the
researcher gathers the experiences shared by the individuals and finds the "essence" of
the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Moustakas, 1994). The inquirer will then articulate the
"what" of this experience and the "how" of the manner in which it is experienced
(Moustakas, 1994). Using a phenomenological approach, the goal of this study was to

engage deeply with the complexity of masculinity when considering intersectional identity factors, like skin tone and region of origin, and present the essence of the interactions between these identity factors and masculinity for Latine men.

There are two main types of phenomenology work, descriptive and interpretive. Descriptive phenomenology aims to produce generic descriptions of the essence of a phenomenon shared by people (Sloan & Bower, 2014; Yüksel & Yıldırım, 2015). There is an assumption in descriptive phenomenology that the shared essence must be derived through objective interpretation (Sloan & Bower, 2014). To do so, a researcher must engage in "bracketing," a process in which researchers set aside their experiences, bias, and perspectives to be as objective as possible (Creswell, 2014). Interpretive, which is also referred to as hermeneutic phenomenology (Langdridge, 2007) assumes that this level of objectivity is simply not attainable, in that the biases, experiences, and subjectivity of the inquirer exist within the understanding of the phenomenon (Langdridge, 2007; Sloan & Bower, 2014). In interpretative phenomenology, researchers are tasked with finding interpretative meaning within and in relation to the phenomenon (Sloan & Bower, 2014; Yüksel & Yıldırım, 2015). This approach is often used to investigate contextual features of a phenomenon while considering environmental influences like culture, gender, race, and sexuality (Matua, 2015).

Given the importance of intersectionality in the experiences of People of Color, and specifically Latine individuals, I selected interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). This type of analysis follows the interpretive phenomenology aim of finding meaning through interpretation of the phenomenon while considering context,

experience, and perception of participants (Davidsen, 2013; Larkin & Thompson, 2011). In addition to interpretive meaning making, IPA considers *giving voice*, in which researchers consider participants' way of expression and reflect to make sure their work is aligned to those voices (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). IPA has become a popular form of analysis in qualitative work, most commonly in psychology (J. A. Smith, 2011). Additionally, IPA has been used often in unison with an intersectional framework by considering intersecting identities, issues of power and oppression, and context (Chan & Farmer, 2017; Parmenter et al., 2021; J. A. Smith et al., 2009).

Recruitment

Participants were recruited through Facebook groups, Instagram posts, academic email circulations, and personal contacts (see Appendix A for recruitment flyer). Interested individuals clicked on the link in the recruitment notice and were taken to a Qualtrics survey with the informed consent document (Appendix B), and a short demographic survey presented in Appendix C. Potential participants provided an email address for follow up and were asked to provide a pseudonym to identify them. An onboarding email was sent with information about the interview (including instructions for selecting an artifact to bring to the interview) and set up an interview appointment via Zoom. Participants were compensated $50 for the interview and $25 for member checking. Recruitment was purposeful to maximize variability with regards to participant's region of origin, generational status, skin tone, sexual orientation, and other relevant identity characteristics using the demographic screener survey. To screen for skin tone, the NIS Scale of Skin Color Darkness (SSCD) (also known as the Massey-

Martin scale) was used. The SSCD has been shown to be a reliable measure of both participant and coder ratings of participant's skin color for Latine people (Fuentes et al., 2021; Massey & Martin, 2003).

Participants

Participants were 12 Latine adult men living in the United States. Table 1 displays pertinent demographic identifiers. Participants were given the choice to do the screener, consent forms, and interview in English or Spanish, or a combination of the two. All participants preferred to communicate in English in every aspect. All participants identified as Latine, and in the same race/ethnicity category were asked to select all options that applied to them. Only three participants chose multiple options: Jay and Temo choose *Black or African American*, and Michael chose *European or white*

Table 1

Intersectional Identity Demographics of Sample

Pseudonym	NIS skin tone scale score	Age	Sexual orientation	Highest education level	Country of origin
Jay	6	29	Heterosexual	Associate's	Cuba
Kendrick	6	20	Heterosexual	Some college	Mexico
Anthony	2	27	Heterosexual	Bachelor's	Peru
Jonathan	3	25	Gay	Bachelor's	Mexico
Michael	5	22	Gay	Bachelor's	Peru
Genaro	3	25	Heterosexual	Post-grad	Mexico
Manuel	3	25	Heterosexual	Bachelor's	Mexico
Sam	2	27	Heterosexual	Post-grad	Bolivia
Andrés	4	21	Heterosexual	Bachelor's	El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico
JJ	4	28	Heterosexual	Bachelor's	Mexico
Alex	5	25	Heterosexual	Bachelor's	Mexico
Temo	6	23	Heterosexual	Associate's	Mexico

white United Statesian in addition to Latine. All participants were over the age of 18 and

identified as cisgender, though trans men were also welcomed to participate in the study.

Of the 12 participants, only one identified as first or 1.5 generation, the rest were second,

third, and fourth generation U.S.-born. Immigration status was discussed but not reported

to provide privacy and safety to the participants. Participant's age ranged from 20 to 29,

with a mean of 24.75 (*SD = 2.8*). The sample was highly educated, with all participants

reporting at least some secondary education.

Procedure

Triangulation

  Consistent with sound qualitative methodology, triangulation was encouraged and

applied in this study. Triangulation refers to using multiple methods of inquiry to analyze

and interpret the data through different perspectives (Carter et al., 2014). This process

provides the study with increased credibility by using different methods to solidify

interpretations across multiple forms of inquiry (Carter et al., 2014). In this study,

triangulation was achieved through interviews, artifacts, reflexive discussion by the

researchers, and member checking.

Interviews

  The interview process is a useful tool for qualitative researchers to gather personal

data which can be analyzed in more generalized contexts (Fetterman, 2009). It helps

researchers clarify observations, reflections, and inquiries by including the informants as

part of the voice of the findings (Fetterman, 2009). While there is variability in the

manner of conducting interviews, it is often the case that these are unstructured and unrestricted (O'Reilly, 2012). There might be a general direction or topics to discuss, but interviews often are richest when the interviewees have as much control of the process of the interview as the researcher. This technique ensures diversity and variability in the answers of the participants (Creswell, 2014; Foley & Valenzuela, 2005). The goal was to provide space in which the participants had freedom to express original thought while allowing the researcher and participant to engage in an intimate collaboration. This process creates a mutual and constructive influence between the participant and the researcher (Creswell, 2014; Swartz & Nyamnjoh, 2018). See Appendix D for the semistructured interview questions.

Interviews were conducted by the author alone, via Zoom for all 12 of the participants. Participants were asked if they preferred to conduct the interview in English or in Spanish. All 12 men chose to conduct the interview in English. During the interviews, some participants used Spanish in specific moments to better communicate an expression, idea, or common terminology. The duration of interviews ranged from 45 min to 1 h and 10 min. Participants were asked if they wanted to use their pseudonym provided in the screener or another name. The majority of the participants decided to use the pseudonym while others chose to use a nickname or their real name. We respected the decision of the participants in this but did not include which option each participant chose, so all the names provided are referred to as pseudonyms. Interviews involved semi structured inquiry based on carefully constructed questions, exploration of identity and cultural factors in masculine construction, and a discussion of how the artifact

represented their masculinity. Interviews were recorded and stored in a HIPPA compliant

folder provided by Utah State University (USU). Only the two hired transcribers and the

author watched the recordings. Both transcribers were approved by the Institutional

Review Board (IRB) and had CITI training certification.

Artifacts

Visual representation in qualitative work has many uses, as material culture has

been used to understand meaning of people and contexts. Material culture refers to

documents and artifacts that represent some meaning or experience of culture (Glesne,

2016). In efforts to understand phenomena, historical context and documents are

important to consider (Gagliardi, 1990). The use of documents and artifacts can provide

context, depth, and perspective to qualitative work (Glesne, 2016). Artifacts help

researchers find themes and combine and compare these findings with those gathered

through other methods, like interviews (Glesne, 2016). These artifacts tell a story,

provide meaning, and function, and spark further discovery in the interview process

(Edwards & I'Anson, 2020; Glesne, 2016). In fact, artifacts represent social narratives as

well, and can evoke further autobiographical sharing (Mitchell, 2011). Using material

culture allows researchers to analyze literal meaning, symbolic meaning, connotations,

memories, emotions, and narratives associated with the artifact (Glesne, 2016; Rafaeli &

Vilnai-Yavetz, 2004). In IPA it is especially helpful to use artifacts to discern meaning

and interpret essence through examination of context and experiences connected to the

object (Yanow, 2006).

Artifacts can be anything made or found that can be perceived by the senses

(Gagliardi, 1990; Rafaeli & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2004). These can include documents, objects, art, photographs, and music (Banks, 2007; Glensne, 2016; Rafaeli & Vilani-Yavetz, 2004). For this study, participants were allowed to include any form of artifact that they connected to and represented their masculinity. If objects were not currently available to the participants, photographs or drawings of the objects were used. Participants were asked to bring their artifact to the interview. Using artifacts in combination with interviews can allow for stimulation of the information being shared and a diversity of thought-provoking methods to gather deep meaning (Edwards & I'Anson, 2020; Glesne, 2016). Participants chose the artifact prior to interview and discussed it as the final question of the interview.

Member Checking

Participants were given the opportunity to review the manuscript and stories told in hopes that they would edit, add, or change things to match their views. Participants were encouraged to make these changes with the research team so that the story written was told accurately. This form of review improves validity and credibility of the study (Houghton et al., 2013). Furthermore, this method is consistent with IPA underpinnings of *giving voice* to the participants (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Member checking participation was deemed completed if participants answered the following two questions: (a) *In what ways does this manuscript fit with your experience and/or in what ways does it not resonate with you?* and (b) *Do you think there is anything that is missing in the document, that you'd like to add? Please explain if so*. Only two participants responded to my request for feedback on the polished findings (results and discussion)

section of the paper. In answering the first question, both participants reported agreement with the manuscript. They explicitly reported a connection with certain themes presented in the next chapters. To answer the second question, one participant noted that he only noticed a few errors from the automated transcripts, specifically mentioning "I said 'you know' too many times." The other participant reported that nothing was missing, but that he just wanted to add that the pressures to display hegemonic masculine traits were more felt in white United Statesian spaces and less so in Latine spaces, like around his "cousins and uncles." This was added to the findings and conclusion section of this paper.

Data Analysis

A visual depiction of the data analysis process is displayed in Figure 1. Interviews were transcribed by two CITI-certified USU students who were approved by the IRB. Intersectional framework and IPA informed the overall analysis of the data (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Our team utilized intersectional theory, social identity theory, and borderland theory, to provide meaning and context of the institutional forces present in the participant's responses. Deductive thematic analysis guided the coding process, theme finding, analysis of an "essence," narrative interpretation process and reflection for the purpose of organizing our codes and defining our themes (Larkin & Thompson, 2011; Larkin et al., 2006; J. A. Smith, 2011). The transcriptions were originally read by the student author, looking for general semantic codes and shared experiences. Consultation with the faculty advisor and one of the members of the coding team followed, in which codes were refined and adjusted based on accuracy to participant's responses. We focused on finding themes that were shared by the majority of the participants and

representative of the research questions for Aim 1 (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For Aim 2, we engaged in a similar process but also intentionally picked out data that was unique to the intersectional identities of underrepresented participants. I then embarked on finding higher order themes that connected participant's responses to the research questions and guiding theories. During this process, I began to develop interpretive theme coding based on shared meaning of the phenomenon of Latine masculine construction (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Through an intersectional lens, I interpreted and understood thematic meanings by combining social identity, intersectional, and borderlands theories and relevant literature to the stories shared by participants. I considered context, culture, experiences of privilege and oppression, intersecting identities, and personal values of participants to find latent meanings in their responses (Davidsen, 2013; Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Themes were examined to for fit and fidelity to the guiding theories and to the participant's accounts (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Davidsen, 2013).

Figure 1

Data Analysis Visual
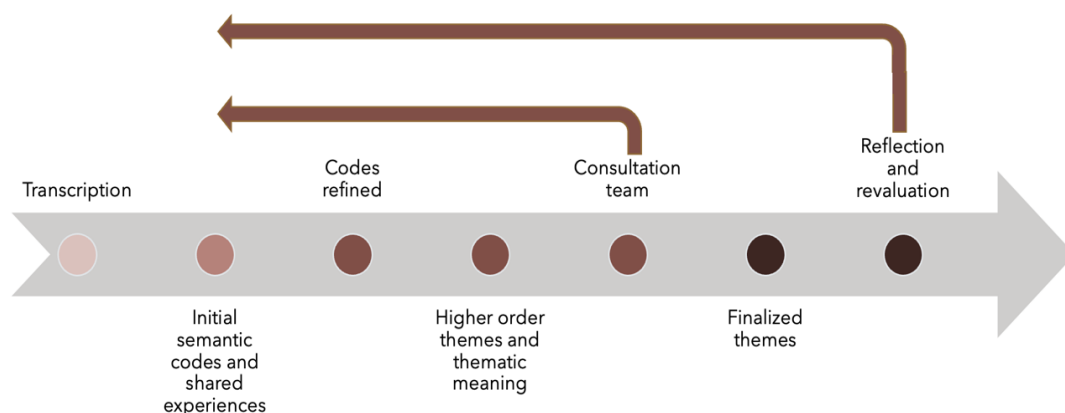
Reflexivity is the term used to explain that in IPA, the researcher's reflection on their own experiences, identities and bias can help in interpreting meaning of a shared account (J. A. Smith, 2011). Throughout the process of data analysis, I engaged in reflective discussion, adjustments to theme interpretations, and member checking (Larkin & Thompson, 2011; J. A. Smith, 2011). I assigned a subset of interviews to a team of three co-coders/collaborators who shared Latine masculine identity, to increase the validity of the chosen codes and developing themes. All co-coders are Latine men pursuing a Ph.D. in Clinical and Counseling Psychology programs at Utah State University and Arizona State University. Their positionality statements including their intersecting identity, and personal and professional connection to this field are below to better capture their subjectivity in this study (Sloan & Bower, 2014). The coding team was tasked with reading three transcripts each and discussing the choice of codes and validity of themes during a coding meeting. The process of coding meeting helped solidify and refine higher level themes and deliberate on impactful quotes to represent these themes. My faculty advisor and I then reviewed these themes for assurance that these interpretations were true in fit and fidelity to both the data and the theory of analysis.

Last, the final themes were analyzed in association with each other. It was important in this analysis to provide voice to those people who are often underrepresented in the literature. We utilized this value embedded in IPA and intersectional work (Crenshaw, 1990; Larkin & Thompson, 2011) to create a thematic map that allowed for the interpretation of a shared essence while celebrating diverse

expressions of masculine identity. We created organization of the themes by aims, in order to achieve both goals of this project. Aim 1 was dedicated to understanding the shared experience of how culture and contexts impacts the construction of these men's masculine identity and Aim 2 was focused on investigating and celebrating how diverse intersectional identities influence such constructions. Upon this organization, thematic analysis was written and presented to the faculty advisor for final examination during which feedback was implemented and final revisions were made.

Reflexivity and Positionality

In qualitative work, it is common practice for the researchers to acknowledge and examine their biases, identities, and experiences (Bourke, 2014; Sloan & Bowe, 2014). By including and processing the researcher's positionality, those reading the study can understand the influences in place for the interpretation process (Hopkins et al., 2017). Reflexivity is integral to IPA, since this framework states that true objectivity is impossible (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Therefore, including one's background, biases, and culture is necessary to appreciate the subjectivity of the work (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Furthermore, reflexivity can aid in the interpretative process by including the researcher's experiences to produce integrated work (Sloan & Bowe, 2014; J. A. Smith, 2011). To do this, researchers tend to reflect and include their own experiences around the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). In this way, my own biases, identity factors, culture and experiences shaped the conclusions and themes of this study. It was then imperative to acknowledge this subjectivity and include my experiences in this project as the primary researcher and sole author of this study. We

also include the positionality of the coding team for additional context.

Primary Researcher and Author

Much of my interest in Latine masculinity is shaped by my own encounters with gender roles, immigration, oppression, and privilege. As a Latine man, I have often thought and reflected on my own masculinity in the context of both a United Statesian masculinity standard and a Colombian one. I was born in Bogotá, Colombia and moved to the U.S. at the age of nine. My memories in Colombia about masculinity centered around strict gender roles, dominance over women and emotional "strength." From an early age, I was instructed that men were the *head of the household* and served as the protectors and decision-makers of the family. At an early age, it was clear that men received preferential treatment, such as everyone at the dinner table having to wait until the man of the house started eating. This privilege was usually held by the oldest man at the table, and I even received this benefit around the age of 10 even though my mother was present. I was taught to be chivalrous, proud, assertive, emotionless, and encouraged to be a "player." I distinctly remember being taught to reject all things feminine and non-heterosexual when it came to my behavior. In fact, the word "*marica*" (a nasty slur used towards gay men) was often used around me to denounce anything that was negative or unpleasant. This word literally is defined as either "sissy" or "faggot." I was privileged in identifying as a heterosexual man, in that these derogatory terms felt distant to my personal experiences of discrimination, and yet always felt hurtful and dehumanizing.

Growing up, there were clear gender role differences for my sister and me. My main responsibilities were to do yard work and help with any car maintenance. On the

other hand, my sister was asked to help with cleaning, cooking, organizing, and maintaining the house. Her responsibilities far outnumbered mine in both duration and quantity. I was also afforded more freedom in how I talked (using curse language), where I went, what I ate, and how I dressed than my sister. Dating life was a clear indicator of these gender role disparities. I was encouraged to date multiple women and to date often, while my sister was often criticized for not having a stable relationship and had stricter curfews when on dates. Throughout my adolescence and young adulthood, I mainly dated one woman at a time. I distinctly remember being questioned by family members as to why I did not have relationships on the side. Additionally, I was often judged by the physical appearance of my partners, who were compared to the girlfriends of my male cousins. The expression of emotions was a clear distinction as well, as men were instructed to display emotional and mental fortitude in the form of silently dealing with their own emotions and only displaying anger. As a kid with anxiety, I was often instructed to get over my fears and act without displaying any emotions. Crying was discouraged and emotional issues were to be dismissed and shrugged off. After my first heartbreak, my family scolded me for taking so long to "get over it," while women in the family received much more compassion during these sorts of experiences.

Many of these masculinity traits and expectations were the same in Colombian culture as they were in the U.S. Gender roles were similarly expected, as were notions of how to behave in intimate relationships. In the U.S. there was more emphasis placed on assertiveness and confidence in my experience. Masculinity was often displayed in my social circles through confident speech and action. During my time in college living with

white United Statesian roommates, I felt less masculine at times when attempting to consult with friends about decision making. In social groups such as parties, those who were dominant, loud, and direct were seen as more masculine and benefited from hegemonic masculinity standards. Additionally, there was value placed on being independent which was difficult for me to achieve coming from a collectivistic and family-based culture. Physical size also played an interesting role in my experience of masculinity in the U.S., as on average white United Statesian men tend to be taller than Latine men. Height and muscle seemed to automatically give certain men more privilege in their masculinity than shorter and skinnier men like me. I did not always match a United Statesian standard of masculinity, being collectivistic, short, skinny, passive, and soft spoken. On top of that, I was often referred to as the Colombian or foreign guy making my place in the hierarchy of men at the lower end. After internalizing this for many years, I noticed my self- confidence decrease the longer I was in the U.S. This lack of confidence further distanced me from attaining this masculinity standard and the benefits associated with it. Having white-passing complexion, I was afforded many privileges that other Latine men have not had in white spaces. My straight hair and thinner facial features allowed me to pass as white from afar and prevented me from facing discrimination from this distance. However, among Latine men, I often felt that my light complexion automatically gave me a label of being soft and sensitive.

Overall, I am in many ways a non-traditional man in that I am often described as compassionate, emotional, sensitive, passive, and anxious. I value empathy and nurturance, which were described as feminine traits in my development. My sensitivity

was often ridiculed by women and men in my life. Additionally, displays of kindness, collectivism, and codependence were often viewed as weakness and lack of assertiveness. This was an issue for me growing up, as I felt that these traditionally feminine qualities impacted my ability to access masculine acceptance and privileges. My intimate relationships, however, often gave me respect among other men in both Latine and United Statesian groups. The women I dated or were seen with were often brought up when other men would complement me or offer me masculine approval. Much of my masculine esteem centered around sexual encounters, athletic performance, and alcohol use for many of my identity forming years. As a more effeminate man, I have noticed quite a bit of discrimination especially among other men towards me. Also, as an aspiring feminist, I felt more backlash in spaces shared with men, discounting my masculinity because of my views on equity for women, individuals outside the binary and for support for LGBQT+ communities.

While many of the masculinity traits described above have a negative connotation for me, there were also positive pieces that shaped my idea of masculinity. In my family, intelligence and hard work were considered masculine traits of esteem. While not exclusive to men, my academic achievement was reinforced by family and gave me masculine approval. Additionally, respect, pride, and perseverance were values instilled in me as a man. I have often relied on pride to overcome difficulties in my life and that is a shared fuel that many men in my family and culture bond with. We were raised to be family-oriented, and as men are responsible for being supportive and available family members. The one value I have bonded with the most during my time both in the U.S.

and Colombia as defining to being a man, is that of sacrifice. To sacrifice effort, time, money, or selfish desires to either achieve, protect, or support has shaped my idea of manhood. I highly value sacrifice in order to serve my community and find much of my masculine pride tied to this value. My conception of masculinity has changed many times during my development and my understanding of power and discrimination has been especially helpful in cementing it today. While this section of the paper is to introduce my biases, culture, experiences, and position in masculinity, it does not encompass my whole understanding of the intersectional interplays of my skin tone, region of origin, Latine identity and masculinity. As seen in much qualitative work, the reflectiveness of the researcher can add trustworthiness and perspective to the interpretation and limitations of the findings (Glesne, 2016; Marx, 2008). It further highlights the notion that knowledge is not all knowing but can be informative by acknowledging perspective and bias (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Given this and my personal connection with the study itself, I incorporated my perceptions and impressions of the findings throughout the interpretation process.

The findings of this study used qualitative methods, making it inappropriate to draw generalized conclusions from it (Glesne, 2016). It is important to consider that due to the author's positionality, the interpretation of this research was influenced by culture, experiences, intersecting identities, and context. In accordance with the nature of this study, I express and acknowledge my biases throughout the process to provide context to the implications and interpretations found. My own intersectional experiences of gender, skin tone, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and region of origin will be important to consider

as the reader continues to understand the findings and conclusions of this study.

Coding Team

The coding team presented shorter renditions of their positionality. They focused on acknowledging their intersectional identities and providing accounts of their personal and professional relationships with this line of work. Below we present their statements:

Gabe. My name is Guadalupe G. San Miguel, M.S., and I am a doctoral student at Utah State University in the Combined Counseling/Clinical Psychology program. I identify as a cisgender, bisexual, Tejano, Chicano from Houston. I am interested in this study because I am fascinated by how geographical locations, political histories, family values can have an impact on masculinity and gender identity. Professionally, I find this topic important to the understanding of diversity within gender identity among Men of Color that have similar cultural backgrounds.

José Manuel. My name is José Manuel Gonzalez Vera, M.S., and I am a graduate student from the Combined Counseling/Clinical Psychology program at Utah State University. I identify as a cisgender, heterosexual, 1.5 generation immigrant, Mexican man. I am drawn to this study because of my own experiences of navigating the intersection of masculinity and Latinidad in the U.S. This study is important to me because I believe that it is essential for psychologists to understand the impact of culture on gender expression and gender identity.

Byron. My name is Byron Horacio García, M.S., and I am a doctoral student in the Clinical Psychology program at Arizona State University where my role is to research the complex interplay between culture and self-regulation processes in youth of minority

and majority backgrounds living in the U.S. today. I identify as a cisgender, heterosexual, and first-generation Nicaraguan male from Miami, Florida, whose identity is deeply rooted in Hispanic heritage culture. For these reasons, I am particularly interested in the aims that drive this study because I have a profound interest in exploring the intricate intersections between culture and lived experiences (i.e., privilege vs. oppression). Drawing from my own background and experiences, I bring a unique perspective that informs this kind of work, recognizing the significance of cultural diversity in the U.S. today, as well as the power of lived narratives. Accordingly, my positionality fuels my commitment to shedding light on the nuanced ways in which cultural identities shape individual experiences and thus I am dedicated to contributing to a more inclusive and equitable understanding of the world through my own, and shared, academic work.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Aim 1

This study sought to elevate the voices of Latine men, exploring the meaning of both shared and diverse experiences. Aim 1 focused on understanding how culture and intersectional experiences influence Latine men's understanding of masculinity. We argue against using one dimensional or dualistic models of understanding Latine experiences of gender identity and gender expression. In fact, recent literature supports movement away from simplistic (monolithic or dualistic) models to conceptualize masculine identity (e.g., Ferro, 2020; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). In accordance with this movement in Latine masculine studies, we did not attempt to create or find a new definition of "Latine masculinity," as that again would continue to perpetuate a limited conceptualization of masculine identity. Instead, we present collections of these Latine men's constructions of their masculine identities and use an intersectional model (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016) to analyze and interpret shared themes of masculinity between cultural spheres—mainly Latin and white United Statesian. We used IPA to achieve the study aims. IPA supports finding shared meaning through use of common themes by members of a group who share similar experiences (Groenewald, 2004) while considering context and unique experiences (Davidsen, 2013). When thinking about the essence of these experiences, we attend to the "what" of the experience and "how" the experience is formulated (Moustakas, 1994) in Aim 1a and 1b, respectively. We first

present the overall findings of the shared themes among these Latine men in Aim 1a and analyze the impact of culture in their construction of masculinity using intersectional, borderlands, and social identity theory in Aim 1b. Figure 2 provides a visual depiction of the structure of Aim 1.

Figure 2

Aim 1 Visual
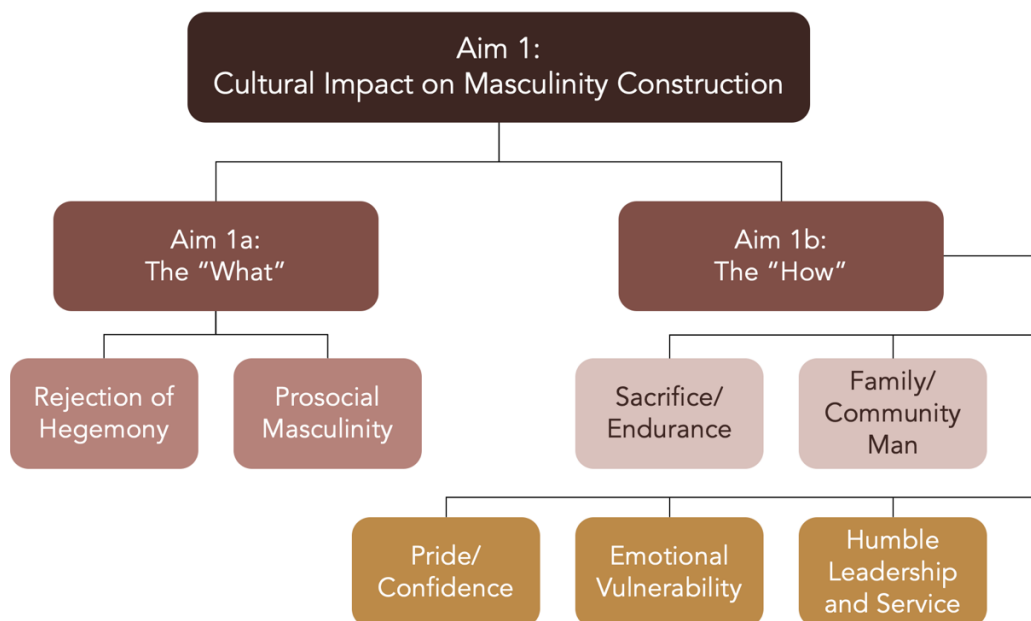
**Aim 1a: "Finding the "What" of the Essence of
Latine Masculinity in this Sample."**

For this section, we use the following terms to discuss themes associated with the study of masculinity. We refer to these terms to ground ourselves in the literature but will expand on them for the purpose of a deeper, intersectional understanding. Hegemonic masculinity refers to a dominant type of masculinity built on patriarchal power over women, non-binary people, and marginalized men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005;

Hurtado & Sinha, 2008, Messerschmidt, 2015). Societies with patriarchal systems

espouse a hegemonic masculinity that diminishes and asserts power over non-normative

expressions of masculinity. The form of hegemonic masculinity observed in the U.S. has

been referred to as *toxic masculinity*, defined by aggression, hypersexuality, dominance,

risk-taking, physical strength, "alpha" mentality, emotional disconnection, and a rejection

of "femineity" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; de Boise, 2019; Kupers, 2005; Posadas,

2017; Wong & Wester, 2015). In the U.S., true hegemony can only be accessed by

cisgender, heterosexual, white, middle, or upper class, financially stable, able-bodied

men. Men of minority and marginalized status (dark-skinned, Indigenous, trans, Latine,

gay, poor, skinny, feminine, etc.) can access certain advantages of patriarchal systems in

certain contexts but are less able to secure dominant power and capital because of their

marginalized identities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ocampo, 2012; Reich, 2010).

For Latine men (especially cisgender and heterosexual), hegemonic masculinity can be

and often still is exploited in other settings, such as in different countries, local

communities, and home life through expressions of *machismo*. Machismo is often

referred to as a type of "hegemonic" masculinity in certain contexts and it includes

themes of hypermasculinity, sexism, domination and control, emotional detachment,

heterosexual sexual prowess, and homophobia (Alcalde, 2011; Estrada et al., 2011; Ojeda

& Pina-Watson, 2014; Torres et al., 2002). As shown above, there is little difference in

the traits associated with toxic masculinity and machismo, and in fact these

characteristics are often staples of hegemonic masculinity seen in other patriarchal

cultures (Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). We refer to these assumptions about masculinity

as hegemonic in this paper to refer to those that share themes of dominance with the values presented above.

Additionally, we refer to more contemporary concepts of masculinity as *prosocial masculinities*. These include *positive masculinity,* a strength-based view of masculinity characterized by compassion, social responsibility, courage, autonomy, perseverance, and respect (Englar-Carlson & Kiselica, 2013; Isacco et al., 2012). One sub-construct of prosocial masculinity is *caballerismo*, defined by qualities of affection, emotional connection, humility, honor, respect, pride, social responsibility, and family centeredness found among Latine men (Mirandé, 1997; Nuñez et al., 2016: Ojeda & Pina-Watson, 2014; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020).

Acknowledgment and Rejection of Hegemonic Masculinity

Participants were asked "What do you think of when you hear the word masculinity?," designed to evoke general and societal constructs of gender expression and masculinity. We followed that question by asking "How do you define masculinity for yourself?," designed to elicit personal and cultural identification with general and social constructs of gender expression and masculinity. Participants identified shared experiences for each question, but also described idiosyncratic differences between their "social definitions" and "personal definitions" of masculinity. The distinctions among the shared and idiosyncratic experiences can be framed through social identity and intersectional theory.

We used the term "social definitions" of masculinity to refer to the most common

themes found in participants' responses to the question designed to elicit general and social constructs of masculinity. The six more prevalent themes were toughness (11), "alpha" dominance (10), lack of emotional expression (10), leadership (7), sexual prowess (6), and "muscular and hairy" (6). See Table 2 for illustrative quotes.

All six of these themes shared identical or similar messages to those described in the literature on hegemonic masculinity. Toughness, dominance, emotional detachment, sexual virility, and physical strength are all major tenets of hegemonic forms of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Torres et al., 2002; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). Leadership was the only theme that shared common tropes with both hegemonic masculinities, such as messages of "taking charge" and with prosocial themes such as "standing up for yourself." Overall, there was striking similarity between the way these men described general and societal masculinity and messages of hegemonic masculinity represented in the literature.

The participants in this study all acknowledged the hegemonic standards placed on them by society. As shown in the literature on masculinity, in patriarchal societies, people of all genders must be aware of the expectations of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The literature suggests that all men must acknowledge and adhere to hegemonic standards and be aware of the consequences if they fail to meet and access the privileges afforded to those who display this form of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Participants shared a similar understanding of these messages, highlighting the prevalence of hegemonic masculinities in the U.S. Additionally, however, these men tended to reject these definitions of masculinity when asked about

Table 2

Sample of Quotes Regarding Social Definitions of Masculinity

Theme	Quotes
Alpha dominance	JJ: "That perspective that you're dominant, you know, like you're the one taking charge of shit."
	Andrés: "You know that you could be dominated so showing that dominance…showing that strength."
Toughness	Anthony: "Like the first thing that comes to mind when I hear masculinity is like tough, rough, stuff like that."
	Jay: "Masculinity, I mean I guess…Toughness. Rugged, you know. Sports, cars, you know…you're a tough guy, you're strong."
Lack of emotional expression	Andrés: "You know the stereotypical that they don't cry. They don't show emotion that they're the firm in their word."
	JJ: "Guys don't share our feelings guys don't you know. Going around and talking about like their emotions and shit you know; you're supposed to like work work work."
	Jonathan: "It has always been drilled onto you know boys, men don't cry you have to hold it together."
Leadership	JJ: "…like the one being in charge, you know.... things come to shove like you're the one like taking leadership."
	Alex: "What comes to mind for me is just that, that foundation, that strong leadership and never backing down type of thing."
	Temo: "It's a lot of like the, the man is the head of household to lead and guide, and everything, what he says has to be the way."
Sexual prowess	Genaro: "…so that's where I see that connection between masculinity, and like I don't want to say to straightness, because that's not the word I'm looking for like no, yeah like sex like the sexual prowess, right?"
	Anthony: "I noticed that some girls just kind of were attracted more to this. Yeah, not persona, but just more of like a leader type of thing. More Macho."
	Sam: "Because you're trying to put on something for somebody to be attracted to you in the sense of what you're trying to fulfill like what whatever they need."
Muscular and hairy	Jonathan: "…immediately someone a man, very buff, hairy and just trying to be the alpha in the room."
	Alex: "The first image that comes to my head when I think of masculinity is like bearded, buff, tall."

own conceptualization of masculine.

When asked "how do you define masculinity for yourself?" participants' answers were much different. We simply use the term "self-definitions" to present these responses. Despite the diversity in responses, there were shared themes provided by this group. The most common themes were sacrifice and endurance (10), confidence and pride (9), emotional vulnerability (8), family and community man (8), and humble leadership and service (6). See Table 3 for examples.

These five themes connected more closely with *positive masculinity* and *caballerismo* qualities such as honor, pride, emotionality, family centeredness, social responsibility, and respect (Mirandé, 1997; Nuñez et al., 2016: Ojeda & Pina-Watson, 2014; Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). Themes associated with "self-definitions" suggested that these Latine men connected their masculine identity with values of prosocial masculinities and rejected the hegemonic values associated with their social definitions. To find interpretive meaning as to why there was such a difference for these men, we framed our analysis through intersectional and social identity theories. Social identity theory states that individuals construct their social identities based on how connected or disconnected they are from specific social groups. This involvement with in- and out-groups informs the sense of self and culture (Tajfel, 1981). We noticed that participants were tasked with connecting or disconnecting from hegemonic and prosocial types of masculinity and tended to reject the hegemonic standards they acknowledged earlier. We first present the reasons why they rejected these "societal definitions" and later discuss how their identities and cultures informed their chosen "self-definitions" in aim 1b.

Table 3

Sample of Quotes Regarding Self Definitions of Masculinity

Theme	Quotes
Sacrifice and Endurance	JJ: "You're the one that like pushes others needs ahead of yours...you know like other people's needs come before yours, type of shit."
	Alex: "Doing more sacrifice than anybody else. Like you sacrifice a lot I think when it comes to masculinity. I think that we sacrifice a lot of ways."
	Kendrick: "For me, I probably would say like masculinity when I think of that I think my dad, because I mean literally through like everything like, no matter what he always like kept his head high. Like growing up as a kid like you know when working with him, I didn't really realize like how much he like sacrificed just to make it to us."
Confidence and Pride	Temo: "…good male role models I've had in my life where they have that masculinity too, and they kind of pass it down to us to have that confidence and that pride within ourselves in a positive manner."
	Anthony: "I think back to my dad, my grandparents, what they went through and that gives me the confidence again to just combat whatever I have to do. And then, yeah, I guess I still I still do think about like, yeah, I'm a man."
	Jonathan: "It is finding self-love to feel secure about who you are and what you stand for."
Emotional Vulnerability	Manuel: "I'm going to cry and crying tears of joy, because you know this is my son, and I feel that you know that's to be vulnerable is to be masculine."
	Alex: "To me it's like yeah you should cry as a man like, you gotta cry. You gotta cry, and it doesn't hurt or bring down your masculinity."
	Andrés: "So I think that, like emotions for me like being when with this group, a gentleman like we're so open about things."
Family and Community Man	Michael: "I think being masculine is being aware of your family, and the role you play in it."
	Jay: "A foundation for your family…Build the roof over your head, you know, to help for your family."
	Temo: "…helping young boys and young men be able to have that sense of confidence within themselves, and that pride within themselves."
Humble Leadership and Service	Sam: "A big part of it is humbling yourself, and like, you know, being able to learn and expand your way of thinking. I think to me that's a very that's something I attach to masculinity."
	Manuel: "…that's necessary for masculinity, having an open mind, keeping, I guess, keeping your head on a swivel."

These participants did not include themes of hegemonic masculinities in their "self-definitions" for several reasons. They appeared disconnected from the traditional standards placed on men based on their age, lack of access to hegemonic privileges,

stereotype threat, and education. Participants seemed to reject hegemonic messages of masculinity that did not represent their social identities in both age and education. These men spoke about those messages as being from a generation before, and no longer the pillars of masculinity for their age group. Genaro shared this when talking about the way older generations view masculinity:

> And so, for me, I would definitely say there's been a shift in how masculinity is viewed based on my generation versus my dad's generation versus my grandparent's generation and so definitely a bit of a clash when it comes to things like, or comments like. Oh, you know, 'man up, or be a man,' or you know.

Genaro spoke about his experience of his father's generation as a "clash," a rejection of the traditional messages of "manning up" which are closely linked with toxic masculinity themes (Allan, 2018). His account displayed a sense of disconnection from these traditional ideas of masculinity. It should be noted that the age range of these participants was from 20-29, with a mean age of 24.75.

We noticed similar rejection of hegemonic masculine standards related to education for these men. All 12 participants reported that they attended or were currently enrolled in higher education, with the following distribution when asked for their higher degree attained: two chose post-grad, seven chose bachelor's degree, another two an associate's, and one picked some college. As such, participants attributed some of their attitudes against hegemonic masculinities to the impact that higher education had on the expansion of masculine schemas. Michael shared about his process in expanding his thoughts about masculinity:

> I owe it to the privilege of getting an undergraduate education, because it's like I was exposed to so many diverse viewpoints. I was- my experiences, my thoughts and my beliefs were always challenged through a lot of the classes that I took.

> And I feel like I had the chance to kind of zoom out and be like, okay you know, like yes, like society told me to think and act this way and believe these things. But I realize now that it is just society telling me that, it's not saying that like it's the truth.

Michael, like other participants in this study, described education as an opportunity to expand preconceived notions of multiple topics, including masculinity. His quote showcased the importance of being challenged to acknowledge that societal expectations of masculinity are not the "truth," and that he learned to view the world with more flexibility. Given the education and age of this sample, it made sense that they no longer subscribed to traditional models of masculinity, and while they acknowledged the presence of the expectations of hegemony, they simply did not identify with those messages any longer.

The rejection of hegemony in this sample can be further understood when analyzing their responses though an intersectional theory lens. Focusing primarily on the interaction of privilege and oppression, intersectional models explain that an individual's intersectional identities illuminate a reflection of attitudes, experiences, and networks of systematic systems of privilege and oppression (Bowleg, 2008). For this sample, the intersection of being men in a patriarchal society while being Latine in a white-supremacist country was critical in their self-definitions of masculinity. When speaking about status and power, often associated with hegemony, Alex provided this account of his ability to attain it:

> Wealth like money, money, status subtracts the way we (Latines) see masculinity. Because I see that. I'm in like a white culture more than anything because that is the environment (workplace) I'm in. They look at the top producers.

Alex highlighted the disparity in the way he views masculinity between Latine spaces he

navigates and white United Statesian spaces. He noted a capitalistic influence at work,

mainly in those top producers receiving access to financial wealth and social status.

When speaking about his opportunities to attain such power and status he shared:

> I want to be a financial advisor. I'm going for all my certificates and stuff. All the
> advisors are White and just kind of how it is…if they had to describe what I am to
> their fellow colleagues, they would say I'm their assistant, and I'm trying to break
> that barrier where I'm on the same level as them. I feel like they're always gonna
> see me like that, that they got some power over me. So even if I've got the same
> degrees, I've got the same licenses, same amount of production. It's always gonna
> feel like I'm one step under.

Alex's account displayed a sense of bleakness in attaining such positions while

navigating inequitable systems at work and in wider society. He lamented the way that

none of the advisors at his company shared his Latine ethnicity and felt that even upon

receiving his credentials he will always have to prove himself to be on equal footing with

his white counterparts. Alex's accounts highlight the hegemonic masculinity in the U.S.

being influenced by capitalism, financial power, and social dominance. It further

provided support for the intersectional framework for viewing hegemony that states that

marginalized men lack access the top privileges of masculinity because of oppressive

systems that undervalue their manhood based on other identities, like race and ethnicity

(Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ocampo, 2012). As the dominant culture in the U.S.,

white privilege provides men of this identity access to the highest tier of hegemony, one

that denies systematic access to Latine men because of inequitable opportunity provided

to them. It would then be important to consider that perhaps these Latine men rejected

hegemony masculine standards partly because they did not see themselves represented or

able to achieve this top tier of hegemonic masculinity. In fact, the non-white, cisgender,

heterosexual, high SES men, by institutional default, are unable to achieve this level of

dominance in U.S. society, making their experience of privilege contextual in this white

dominant U.S. culture (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ocampo, 2012). Participants

expressed a sense of disconnection from membership in a hegemonic form of masculinity

that fails to represent their experiences.

Lastly, these participants presented another reason that could help illuminate their

disconnection from hegemonic masculine definitions. In line with rejecting toxic

masculine standards in the U.S., they also detached from Latine hegemony, in the form of

machismo. Stereotypical features of *machismo* were universally rejected by these men in

connection to instances of oppression by this same stereotype. Four of these men talked

about experiences in which they had been stereotyped as the "Latin lover," an overly

sexualized depiction of Latine men who are suave, smooth, good in bed, and heterosexual

(M. Ortiz, 2009). Genaro spoke about his experiences at a predominantly white

institution (PWI) where he attended college, in which "White girls asked me to speak

sexy in Spanish all the time." He added that "there were plenty of women who would like

expect me to just be like either really good at sex, or like really smooth at talking to the

ladies." Genaro's account highlights the narrow view of Latine men in the U.S., which

limited his expression of self to perform an expected behavior. Anthony added that in

college he began to notice a pressure to embody this stereotype, noting that "I would just

kind of when it came to talking to girl…carry myself in a more alpha way." These men

seemed to respond to society's stereotype of Latine men which has only been further

increased by the media sexualizing Men of Color (Gill, 2012). It suggests that these

discriminatory experiences could further contribute to a rejection of machismo stereotypes as a way to protect the self from oppressive expectations of behavior. This sort of reaction could be understood as a form of stereotype threat, behavior influenced by risk of confirming negative stereotype about one's cultural group, and in this case gender and ethnicity (Steele & Aronson, 1995). In recent literature, there is support to suggest that Latine men reject such stereotypes of Latine masculinity, like the "Latin Lover," due to those stereotypes feeling unfair and non-representative (Valenzuela et al., 2015). In light of stereotype threat, a stress placed on marginalized people in the face of negative stereotypes about their groups, these men might be rejecting negative connotations of Latine men to protect themselves from further oppression.

The reasons that these men rejected hegemonic definitions of masculinity when construction their self-definitions is complex. Using social identity theory and intersectional theory, it seems that these men rejected such tropes because of their connection in age and education. Additionally, their experiences of discrimination in multiple U.S. contexts may have further disconnected them from hegemony because of an inability to attain it and because of pressure from stereotype threat. We discuss and unpack how culture played an influence in their construction of self-definitions in aim 1b.

Aim 1b: Finding "How" Culture Influenced
Self-definitions of Masculinity

See Table 3 again for themes that were more popular in this sample when asked to define their masculinity. The five most common themes in our study included: sacrifice and endurance (10), confidence and pride (9), emotional vulnerability (8), family and

community man (8), and humble leadership and service (6). As stated earlier, these themes aligned closely with prosocial masculinity, especially *caballerismo*. *Caballerismo* centers around the values of honor, pride, emotional expression, family, social responsibility, and respect (Mirandé, 1997; Nuñez et al., 2016: Ojeda & Pina-Watson, 2014). Our themes closely aligned with those above that have been supported in the literature as values of young Latine men (Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). However, the aim of this study was not to provide a definition of masculinity but instead to further understand the identity and cultural influences on such construction, by analyzing experiences of privilege and oppression. We continue to use social identity and intersectional theory in this analysis and add borderlands theory as we explored the influence of biculturalism for these men in the U.S. context. We organize aim 1b by examining each of the five shared themes among these men.

This discussion of the cultural influences of these Latine men's self-definitions of masculinity is divided into two subsections: (a) Heavy Latine influence, and (b) Borderlands influence with clear and with unclear distinctions. This structure helps organize the sections as we consider the influence of both Latine and white United Statesian culture. We examine the cultural influences they discussed and utilize borderlands theory to conceptualize how they navigated living in a bicultural space. Borderlands theory helps us construct a conceptual space, created by bicultural individuals, that is influenced by at least two different cultures; and in this intermediate space, creates a whole and unique entity that stands alone (Anzaldúa, 1987). We further focus on intersectional experiences of privilege and oppression these men encountered in

creating a sense of masculinity as Latine men in the U.S. All participants acknowledged that Latine culture influenced their self-definitions of masculinity when asked about how (any) culture impacted this construction. It seemed evident throughout the data collection and analysis that all participants spoke about their Latine culture without being directly prompted to address this part of their identity.

Heavy Latine Influence in Self-definitions

We first present the first two themes that were heavily influenced by Latine culture according to the interview and artifacts presented by the participants. Below we embrace and share the way in which this prosocial construction was especially influenced by Latinidad. This subsection will cover the sacrifice/endurance and family/community themes shared among these Latine men.

Theme 1: Sacrifice/endurance. The theme of sacrifice and endurance was presented by these participants through words like "grind," "fortitude," "tough skin," "struggle," and of course "sacrifice" and "endurance." Ten of the 12 participants spoke about the importance of a collective sacrifice that was specifically done for their family or community. Most of the men spoke about the immigration and acculturation stress that their parents or grandparents had to endure in order to establish a life in the U.S. They acknowledged the responsibility they feel to continue sacrificing for their family as a way to honor and carry on the hard work their parents went through to get them here. Manuel shared this when talking about how he viewed masculinity in response to his family's sacrifice:

You know I can do more. I will do more, not only just for me, but for my people.

You know, back home for my family. Because my dad did it. My mom did it.

Anthony spoke about his masculinity as a way to "give back to my grandfather and my father's sacrifice to get us here." When Genaro spoke about connecting with his fraternity brothers, he noted crying over "the fear of failure. The pressure that we face as Latino men in college to give back to our family." These men seem to carry the sacrifice their parents and grandparents faced to establish a life in a new country, and they connect their masculinity to this struggle. They found a sense of fortitude in their self-identity through the sacrifices that were passed down through generations in their families. These sacrifices were rooted in the hardships of immigration and the injustices presented to Latine people in the U.S. during acculturation. Within the experiences of their ancestors, there seems to be a sense of pride as they define their masculinity to give tribute to the Latine experience of immigrating to the U.S., one that might look different outside of this country.

Participants connected their masculinity to, not only the sacrifices of their families, but to the ones they experienced themselves. They identified with similar struggles, watching their families continue to experience forms of discrimination based on their ethnicity, and speaking about the ones they endured themselves. Kendrick shared his memories of when his ex-girlfriend's father, a white United Statesian man, perpetrated microaggressions against him constantly. Temo reported that as a Latine men in the U.S. he felt excluded from opportunities to lead when he stated that "being a Person of Color kind of put me in a position of not having as much leadership or trust." Similarly, Manuel stated that "being in the U.S. as Latino, means that you need to

toughen up to racism and discrimination, and keep moving forward." He added that you need to be able to "withstand the pressure" of discrimination as a means to succeed for family. These men seemed to reconceptualize the idea of toughness in masculinity by acknowledging the endurance they must have to face discriminatory experiences in the U.S. These accounts of the oppression participants have personally experienced highlighted the resolve they have had to develop from their marginalized identities of ethnicity and race. It seemed important for participants to connect to their parents' sacrifices, as well as their own, to define a sense of masculinity that is aware of their positionality and moves towards a new definition of strength. These participants rejected ideas of dominance as strength, connecting with sacrifice instead, a quality they attributed to the Latine culture *within* the U.S. The accounts of their personal experiences echoed those shared by their families, and this sense of struggle helped to give meaning to their masculine construction of sacrifice and endurance.

Three of the men illustrated this theme by sharing their artifact and the significance it had for them. Participants were asked to bring in an artifact that represented their masculinity and were asked during the interview to explain how that item informed their self-definition. Andrés, Jay, and Manuel all spoke about their artifact as a representation of sacrifice and providing for their family. Jay and Manuel chose tools, discussing the importance of being able to provide and build something for their family. They spoke about how their masculinity is tied to their ability to sacrifice their time and effort, and always be ready to fix any problems their family might encounter. They noted that this effort serves both past and future generations. Jay stated "as man I

need to put in the work for my daughter. I have to do what needs to be done for the foundation of our home." He later also spoke about giving back to his mother, who raised him in a single-parent home. He stated, "I just grew up with my mom, so you know, I want to take care of her too." Additionally, there was a connection with "making it" financially for their family. Andrés chose for his artifact a set of keys. When speaking about what they represented he shared "keys symbolize like the entrance to many things... to be making hella bread…but also opportunities for your family as a Latino." Both Jay and Andrés' quotes showcased the responsibility these men feel to provide and sacrifice their efforts for the well-being of their families. Their identification with such sacrifice is deeply embedded in *familismo*, a strong familial value and attachment placed in Latine communities (Moore & Cuellar, 1970). Heavily influenced by Latine culture, these men addressed notes of privilege and oppression within their responsibility to sacrifice. Their accounts hint at the privilege of men in both Latine and United Statesian communities to be able to work and provide, due to traditional gender roles that encourage labor independence among men (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Additionally, their quotes also help us visualize the pressure placed on these men to withstand the struggle of discrimination in larger society, while feeling compelled to attain wealth and success in capitalistic ways. In these examples, the men connected their masculinity to their ability to endure and provide for their loved ones.

The theme of endurance and sacrifice highlighted how these men constructed their masculinity within their identities as Latine men in a majority white United States. They noted the influence of their families' immigration sacrifices, their own experiences

of discrimination, their standing as men to provide financially, and their ability to endure hardship. They connected these experiences of oppressive systems to a sense of strength among Latine people, and in this case Latine masculinity. They magnified the importance of their Latine culture in giving them motivation to endure and sacrifice in the U.S. to achieve success. Their construction of masculinity thus was informed by the struggle and fight of POC, immigrants, and other marginated groups in the U.S., and finding a sense of inspiration in these experiences to create an idea of masculine strength engulfed in sacrifice and endurance.

Theme 2: Family/Community Man. The second theme discussed in this subsection dedicated to heavy Latine influence was that of being a "family man" or a "community man." This section was exemplified by stories about how these men valued a sense of community as a way to represent their own masculinity in multiple contexts. Eight of the 12 participants reported that family, connection, and community were integral parts of their construction and definition of masculinity. We understand the importance of connection with family and community through an appreciation for the collectivistic nature of Latine culture (Rinderle & Montoya, 2008). Collectivism supports the value of a culture to the needs and interests of the group or community and an emphasis to the relationships created within these groups (Triandis, 1995, 2001). Recent literature suggests that Latine people are collectivistic in nature, but also value independent constructions of identity occurring within community and family (Krys et al., 2022). It seemed that for these men a sense of belonging to a greater group than oneself was central in their conceptualization of themselves, an in turn their masculine

identity. While many of the participants disconnected from Latine strict familial gender roles, they connected with Latine familial unity and membership to inform their masculine identity. These men expressed that their masculinity was highly associated with the sense of belonging and ability to connect with family and friends. We present how these men used the influence of being a member of their family, a need to give back to their community, and brotherhood among other Latine men to explain their self-definitions of masculinity.

Eight of the participants noted connection and community within their family structure. Kendrick spoke about the unity of his family in informing his masculine construction. For his artifact, Kendrick provided a picture of his family at his sister's birthday party. When asked about the significance of this picture to his masculinity, he reported:

> It really represents how we are. It was a last-minute party throw for her and I'm like no matter what, you can tell everyone's genuinely happy…we're happy with everything we got…we're all together…I'm proud to be part of it.

Kendrick shared that his masculinity was informed by the unity and happiness of his family. He found strength and pride in the way that his family supports each other and works as a unit. Kendricks spoke about the importance of being part of this unit, rather than his position of privilege within the family structure. He seemed to reject the importance of family from a machismo perspective of authority, but instead embraced it from a collective perspective of membership and togetherness. The importance placed on *familismo* seemed to help him feel masculine in his ability to be proud and happy that his family came together to celebrate one another. Similarly, Michael shared his thoughts on

how his family helped him understand masculinity. He reported:

> I think being masculine is being aware of your family, and the role you play in it. It doesn't have to be that you're the breadwinning machoman of the family but like you still feel connected. And you're willing to play a part in your family, I think that's masculinity.

Michael appreciated his masculinity through his ability to be a helpful team member in his family. He embraced a helpful, connected, and humble role in his family which informed a masculine identity that is aware of its privileges and chooses not to align itself with them. These men understand their positions and create an expression of masculinity that is rooted in Latine family unity and collectivism, that finds a connection to their culture but does not take the role of power, often afforded to men, within the familial structure. Instead, it appears that the very sense of belonging to these families is enough to help them see themselves as family men.

Many other participants spoke about how other members of their family helped model their idea of masculinity. Alex noted that his uncle who he described as "a family man…grounded in his family and the needs of others" helped shape his masculinity. Jay found it in his connection with his mother and daughter which shaped his masculinity to "provide stability for my family." JJ similarly reported that masculinity to him was found within his relationship to others, by "looking after others, your family. Their needs ahead of yours." While these relationships were of different nature, they all displayed a deep connection these men have with their family.

Apart from familial relationships, Genaro and Temo both shared artifacts that helped represent their masculinity through their connection with friends and with their community. Genaro spoke about the importance of his fraternity paddle, which

symbolized the first time in his life in which he could connect and cry with other Latine

men his age. In doing so, he noted that a major part of his self-definition of masculinity is

being a "big cuddly bear" for his friends and family. He added that within this community

and brotherhood of Latine men, he found support to express his masculinity through

untraditional ways like his fandom of One Direction and other boy bands. Temo also

shared how his PS4 controller, chosen as his artifact, helped him express his idea of

masculinity as he reported:

> Even within your community, like, if you play video games and things like. You
> are a seen as like, Oh, like that's a cool guy. That's someone who likes to have fun
> and be around, like someone you can hang out with.

Temo's artifact represented his belonging to a gaming community that respects and

values someone who gets along well with others. He found masculinity in being able to

show skill in his games while maintaining a sense of inclusivity and "fun vibes" in the

gaming community. He valued his ability to connect with others and construct his

masculinity within the membership and values of his friends and gaming community.

These two artifacts showcased that the value of collectivism expanded past familial

relationships and included a connection and sense of togetherness with friends and peers.

It became clear that these men valued their Latine roots of community and family

in order to construct their self-definitions of masculinity. This construction was further

developed by noticing their ethnic identity in minorized spaces. For some of these men,

they found community in their association with other People of Color. Kendrick noted

that in his basketball team, he was "the only colored kid." He added that the only other

POC in his team, was his coach, a Black United Statesian man who helped him

understand himself and his manhood. He stated:

> He (the coach) would never let me feel left out. He would include me like in everything…he was probably one of my best friends. He even made sure I was embracing my cultural backgrounds, you know, like he was African American, I was Mexican.

Kendrick's account displayed the expanded sense of community and belonging that he

found in a space that provided him with little same-ethnic representation. He instead

found connection with another POC man, who helped him connect not only to his sense

of masculinity but his Mexican culture in the process. Kendrick showcased an influence

on his masculinity embedded in a shared sense of oppression that included race, ethnicity,

and gender. These unique experiences of minority community within a majority space

helped solidify the importance of family and community as a pillar of masculinity for

these men.

As Kendrick's account showcased the impact that community had on his

development, other participants discussed how they wanted to impact other men through

similar mechanisms. Temo expressed how he viewed masculinity in relation to providing

a sense of modeling for younger men in his community. Temo shared:

> …helping young boys and young men be able to have that sense of confidence within themselves, and that pride within themselves. Not a pride where it he kind of looks down on others but a pride where it's like he's confident, he knows what he can do and he's able to do it. And he can help others be able to follow their dreams.

He pointed out how important helping each other construct that confidence is in setting

positive examples for other Latine men. He addressed a type of pride and confidence that

was aware of privilege, and that rejected dominating others. Temo instead was concerned

with uplifting those in his community to see a masculinity embedded in respect for other

expressions of masculinity as well.

Participants leaned on collectivistic underpinnings of Latine culture to define their hybrid masculine identity. While for some like Temo, the connection was in a diverse gaming community, Genaro found it among Latine friendships. Michael and Kendrick found it in their family unity. These accounts highlighted that *familismo* is a central part to their self-definitions, but so was a general idea of collectivism and community among friends, peers, and coaches. Through their unique connections with family and friends, these Latine men were similar in that their sense of belonging and in-group membership was an integral component to their masculinity. The literature supports the importance of *familismo* as a core value in Latine men's expression of masculinity as providers, family leaders, and problem solvers (Saéz et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2009). However, there is little research on the impact of collectivism on the construction of Latine men's masculine identity formation, which points to a more nuanced area of research exploring deeply rooted cultural influences on Latine masculinity studies.

Borderlands Influence. The remaining three themes were influenced by a hybrid construction of white United Statesian culture and Latine culture according to participants. While it is often difficult to separate which of the cultures is fully responsible for the construction of certain pieces of a borderlands consciousness, the participants pointed to certain features of each culture to explain their self-definitions of masculinity. In this subsection, we address and discuss how these men were shaped by certain cultural factors and how their experiences of privilege and/or oppression impacted this process. This subsection will cover the confidence/pride, humble leadership and

service, and emotional vulnerability themes shared among these Latine men.

Theme 3: Confidence/Pride. Nine of the 12 participants shared the importance of pride and confidence in shaping their masculine identity. They discussed the importance of self-love, confidence in oneself, and pride in who one is as major tenets of their masculine self-definitions. We explored the influence of culture, mainly white United Statesian and Latine culture in how it shaped their ideas and values around this theme. Participants spoke about "being yourself," a concept that is shared among many cultures but more emphasized in Western individualistic cultures than in collectivistic ones (H.S. Kim & Sherman, 2007). Studies have shown that immutable self-beliefs, or consistent ideas of being yourself, are more endorsed in Western culture than in Latin American and East-Asian cultures (Church et al., 2003; Norenzayan et al., 2002). The U.S. values authentic self-expression as a fundamental freedom, often emphasized by the first amendment. Thus, we conceptualize the importance of "being yourself" as an United Statesian cultural concept. Additionally, participants spoke about their pride in their ethnic identity, which can clearly be identified as a connection to Latine culture and to the life of Latine folxs in the U.S. We touch on experiences of privilege and oppression that contributed to the formation of confidence and pride as borderlands constructions of masculinity. We note how a combination of these two cultural beliefs combined to help these men understand their masculine identity.

For many participants, self-confidence informed the way in which they felt pride about masculine expression. Jonathan explained that when "you know who you are, you're secure about yourself and your masculinity. That there's no need for you to portray

the stereotype." Jonathan addressed the importance for him not to be associated with a

stereotype of a Latine man, but instead to express his manhood through self-belief and

security. He continued saying that to him "masculinity is rooted in some sort of

insecurity" and instead he prefers "finding self-love to feel secure about who you are and

what you stand for." He highlighted the importance of being true to himself and his

beliefs, reminiscent of Western values of self-expression. Jonathan chose a pair of pink

gym gloves as his artifact that represents his masculinity, he gave the following quote to

explain how it represents him:

> When I first started, like I wasn't sure what kind of culture the gym was gonna
> have and everything. But I feel like now when I use them [the gloves], it has
> become like this part of my identity like I'm very comfortable and sure about my
> sexuality and masculinity. I don't feel at all like embarrassed, or anything that by
> them. I kind of feel empowered to wear them. I feel like it's the perfect example
> of something that you know, shows self-acceptance, self-love, and it's a nice form
> of encouragement to reinforce the masculinity definition that I'm creating for
> myself.

Jonathan's account provided a powerful example of his journey to be himself and

represent this authenticity. He expressed his desire to reject stereotypes of masculinity

and instead was empowered by the showcase of his pink gym gloves as a form of self-

expression that takes confidence and pride in himself and his identity as a Latine gay

man. He connected with Western values of being true to yourself while navigating two

major cultural spaces that require him to be aware of stereotypes for different parts of

identity. He rejected the stereotype in Latine/Catholic culture to be straight in order to be

masculine and rejected the United Statesian culture's stereotype of Latine men as

maschistas in his expression of masculinity as a prosocial Latine man in the U.S.

Jonathan exemplified a borderlands construction of self-love and confidence that was

influenced by the pressures of two cultures. We further explore the intricacies of his

intersectional identities in Aim 2.

Other participants addressed the tension between being true to themselves, while

acknowledging the differences and difficulties of doing so as a bicultural man. Sam

expressed the importance of building confidence in his idea of masculinity by describing

the strength it takes to stay true to yourself. He noted that:

> For me masculinity is not one thing, I think it's hard to define fully, because I
> think that masculinity is staying true to yourself. I think to me it's like masculinity
> can be whatever you want it to be…I'm going to remain true to myself regardless
> of giving you respect; you know I'm not going back down from what I believe.

Sam expressed a sense of truth to himself despite the influences of others and finding

masculinity in that very context. Studies have shown that Western cultures emphasize the

importance of maintaining a stable sense of sense, despite external forces (Nisbett et al.,

2001). Sam seemed to speak on individualistic tendencies to maintain one's values

despite the influences from the contextual influences. However, as he continued, he also

expanded on how he sees the importance of being flexible of how he displays masculinity

based on the environment he is navigating. He used the term "performance" to highlight

how sometimes it is necessary to adapt one's expression of self, based on identities and

context. He noted:

> There is an aspect of performance too. I always like, you know people are like,
> 'stay true to yourself' or like 'be yourself.' That's why people like you. I do agree
> with that…most importantly, with your morals and values. But I think that it's
> fine to have like I don't want to say a persona, but I guess again, like a
> performance in public of what you want to put out there, like what you're
> comfortable with, with who's in front of you.

Sam articulated an added depth to the experiences of many Latine people in the U.S. who

are pressed with acculturation stress. He touched on the importance of being authentic to being liked, as evidence shows that white United Statesian tend to attribute trust and likeability to those who they view as authentic (Krumhuber et al., 2007). Additionally, he addressed the need to put on a "performance" in public, often associated to codeswitching for racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. Research has shown that white United Statesians perceive bicultural folxs engaging in codeswitching as inauthentic, and thus less likable, trustworthy, and warm (West et al., 2021). In turn, Sam's accounts describe a more contextual and flexible approach to confidence and staying true to self, that includes the necessity to evaluate your surroundings for safety. This form of self-expression, that is more fluid and mutable, has been associated more with biculturalism (Mok, 2022) and those from collectivistic cultures (Kokkoris & Kühnen, 2014). Sam addressed the need to be himself, influenced by United Statesian culture, while navigating a bicultural identity in which that same United Statesian culture might not welcome this fluid self-expression. He must then consider his position based on his Latine identity and culture, and at times put on a more performative ideal of masculinity to navigate his place in the United States. His construction of confidence is aligned with United Statesian messages while considering Latine influences of collectivistic displays of self-expression.

There were several participants who found their connection to self-confidence and masculinity within pride, or "orgullo" in themselves, their family, and their Latine culture. These men connected their confidence in themselves as men to their ethnic identity coherence. Ethnic identity, or the subjective experience of how a person connects or disconnects from their cultural identity, impacts individuals uniquely (Phinney, 1989).

Pride in one's ethnic identity has shown to have numerous positive effects on Latine folxs including personal well-being (T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011), positive psychosocial functioning (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), and improved self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). It has further been shown to mitigate the effects of negative consequences such as discrimination and acculturative stress faced among Latine people (Acosta et al., 2015; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). For these participants, the pride in their Latine culture inspired their pride in themselves and their masculine identity.

Andrés spoke about his pride in himself as a man, which was influenced by his membership in a Latine-based fraternity. He noted that upon joining, his brothers and him began to tell each other the message of

> Never forget, never forget where you come from, because as college students it is so easy. For you to like get lost in the sense of okay, I'm gonna start making money. But once you get job that you want, are you gonna forget where you come from? Are you gonna forget that you grew up on rice and beans?

Andrés alluded to a dynamic of being pulled by opposing forces, one that values capitalism in the greater U.S. culture and one that values pride being of Latine culture. He spoke about how easy it is to forget about the humility and struggle of "where you come from" in reference to his Latine roots, when chasing the "American Dream." His quote suggests that upon entering the world of capital gain, they might not have each other, or not be as well represented as Latine men in corporate spaces. However, Andrés and his fraternity brothers reminded each other of growing up on "rice and beans," a common staple of Latine cuisine, to highlight a sense of pride in their ethnic identity. It seemed that the pride in their ethnic identity served to protect them from losing their sense of self when entering corporate systems. One recent study found that stronger ethnic identity

was positively associated with workplace growth and competence (Combs et al., 2012). Furthermore, these men displayed a shared borderland consciousness, of holding capitalistic values of success while maintaining a sense of being true to their Latine roots along the way. Their need to remind each other of that suggests that they must actively ground themselves in their Latine experiences, as minority groups in a majority white U.S.

Similarly, when Genaro spoke about his artifact of a Latine fraternity paddle, he spoke about how being in his Latine fraternity was "the first time in my life I saw other males who looked like me were very confident in their masculinity. But that masculinity was not the same as my uncles or dad was presenting to me." He alluded to the fact that in these spaces he found confidence in himself as a man and found other young Latine men being confident about their masculinity. He spoke about the first time that he found other men who "looked like" him, other Latine men coming together to build their collective confidence up, in contrast to other settings where he did not feel represented. He further noted that this was not quite the same construction he witnessed in his uncles and dad, speaking to both generational differences but also cultural ones. It suggests that these young Latine men constructed their masculine confidence within the intersection of being Latine and of being in the U.S. By leaning on other young Latine men who shared his Latinidad and generational values, Genaro displays a hybrid construction of pride in the experience of being Latine in the U.S.

Other members found pride in themselves by connecting their personal pride to their family. Anthony stated that for him being masculine is associated with finding

"inner confidence of like being a man…to strap your boots and do what it takes." He noted that he learned to find his confidence by observing his father and grandfather do it and used their journey to help him connect these ideas. Similarly, Kendrick spoke about the influence of his family in helping him find pride in himself and his culture. Using his artifact of a family picture, he reported that masculinity to him means being part of his family and being "proud to be part of it." He acknowledged that pride in his family and culture was integral for him shaping his confidence and masculinity. When speaking about his younger brother living in Utah who was "at that stage where like he doesn't like really want to identity as being Mexican" he stated:

> We always made sure that he was never ashamed to be you know, Hispanic. You know, like we all made sure no matter how tough it is, that like he was proud to be Hispanic. And like I mean that's how I got my culture, through my family and other friends.

Kendrick highlighted the pride his family feels about their Hispanic culture living in Utah, a predominantly white state. His quote showcased the developmental dynamics of his younger brother rejecting his Mexican culture in efforts to fit in, while being supported and encouraged to embrace it by the pride his family holds in their Mexican culture. Kendrick noted that he too learned about his culture and masculinity in this manner. He concluded by attending to the pressure he felt in finding masculinity among his white peers. He reported:

> If I didn't accept my culture, I for sure 100% would look at masculinity a different way…like over here [in the U.S.] you see, like the rich people like want that. That's masculinity right there…but for my culture, masculinity I think it's more like being a family person because obviously you know, my family didn't have enough money, so I was never taught that.

Kendrick concluded by comparing how his white peers attended more to financial

success to display masculinity and describing his fear that if he had not connected to his culture and family, he would do the same. He instead attended to the pride he feels in being connected to them as a fuel for his confidence and manhood within a U.S. context that requires him to acknowledge the SES of his family. His pride for his family and culture seems to protect him from discriminatory experiences of race, ethnicity, and SES. He seemed to embody the protective function of ethnic-identity pride when facing inequitable systems (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014).

Participants utilized various cultural influences to construct their self-definitions of masculinity around pride and confidence. Their accounts showcased the influence of a white United Statesian emphasis on self-expression and authenticity in informing the importance of self-confidence and being true to themselves. They also shared about the importance of being grounded to their Latine roots and having pride in their ethnic identity as a way to feel confident in themselves. Furthermore, these men addressed the challenges in navigating multiple cultural expectations by being authentic while also aware of their marginalized identities in certain contexts. They engaged uniquely with various experiences of privilege and oppression to build their self-confidence. They combined their experiences within communities, families, and cultures to conceptualize a sense of pride for their ethnicity and self-confidence in their manhood. Ultimately, they created a borderland construction of masculinity within their positionality between two cultures to find confidence and pride.

Theme 4: Humble Leadership and Service. Six of the 12 participants shared a common theme grounded in humility and leadership in the name of service to others.

These men described leadership as a way to help others and stand up for socially correct causes. These socially correct causes included having compassion for others, modeling positive masculine behaviors, and being inclusive to diverse expressions of self. Participants discussed how Latine culture and Latine experiences in the U.S. helped them value humility in leading and providing service. They also highlighted how United Statesian values of open-mindedness, particularly around gender roles and sexual orientation, impacted their construction of this humble and inclusive leadership role. We present how these cultural influences and how their experiences of privilege and oppression helped them develop this theme.

Participants described leadership as a form of helping others, standing up for their values, and modeling positive behavior. Michael shared about the way he saw modern masculinity in being aware of your beliefs and standing up for other. He reported that:

> ...a manly thing to do would be to be brave and stand up for others. Not just you know, let your male privilege take advantage of other people, but I think it's kind of like having that self-awareness. I think that's pretty masculine, to just have that confidence and courage to do what's right.

Michael addressed the connection of confidence to his values, inclusion, courage, and helping others along the way. He portrayed an image of a chivalrous man willing to acknowledge his privileges but using them to advocate for others. He rejected the desire to have dominance over others, and instead focused his privilege on service toward those who might not have the platform to stand up for themselves. Similarly, Manuel reported that leadership for him was displayed through modeling compassion and awareness. He spoke on the importance of being open-minded and understanding toward others:

> …Not being free for ourselves, but you know for the people around us because at

> the end of the day there's always people around us who are looking up to us. Your family, friends, relatives…. they have different layers on everything. So, they say 'I should try to be more like this guy, understanding,' you know.

Manuel shared how he wanted others to view him as understanding and compassionate in service of liberating Latine folxs from social oppression. He acknowledged how damaging judgment can be and instead found inspiration to lead by being inclusive of all the "people around us." His account displayed a desire to be a role model by attending to diverse experiences of his family and friends. He seemed to be influenced by his care for his community in wanting to protect them from harm from prejudice and judgement as well. Both Michael and Manuel showcased what leadership looked like for these men, rooted in service and advocacy.

There was an added layer of humility to the way that these men described their leadership. Participants tended to associate this humility to Latine culture and to the experience of being Latine in the U.S. Temo and Sam spoke about how Latine value of humility helped them develop greater inclusivity and acceptance of others, which in turn became part of their leadership and masculine construction. Sam reported:

> I think that's also a crucial part of masculinity. Humbling yourself…like being humble and allowing yourself to learn because the opposite is, you know, toxic masculinity…to learn and be able to stand up for like not just - you know - women, but your fellow man…when other men are trying to exert a certain type of masculinity. You should protect other men in that regard.

Sam explained that through humility he has increased his open-mindedness and acceptance of other's experiences. Sam exemplified advocacy by standing up for those of marginalized gender identities, such as women, and effeminate men in their display of masculinity. He addressed the reality of a hegemonic culture that discriminates against

gender minorities and men who express their masculinity in non-hegemonic ways. The literature supports the notion that marginalized men (e.g., trans men, Latine men, gay men) do not experience the full privileges of masculinity in patriarchal societies and are often discriminated against by other members who embrace the hegemonic tropes (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ocampo, 2012). A similar study found that, in a young Latine men sample, there also was a theme of social responsibility and inclusivity to represent their masculinity. The researchers in this study added that these men rejected a singular schema of Latine masculinity and embraced diverse expressions of gender identity (Walters & Valenzuela, 2020). We also found that these participants encouraged unique expressions of masculinity and even sought to protect those expressions from hegemonic discrimination and ridicule. Sam expressed the need to use this manifestation of humble leadership to stand up and defend these less traditional expressions of manhood.

Temo addressed the cultural influence that his Latine experiences had on his expression of humility and leadership. When speaking about his family and upbringing, Temo stated:

> I kind of grew up with, like, I would say a humble masculinity, especially with like my father. He does have a lot of toxic masculinity traits because of his Hispanic background. We also had a lot more humble traits within, like because he knew what it meant to work. He knew what it meant to have to scrape by…and it instilled in us, to not look down on others…of helping others become leaders, as opposed to reigning over them…to kind of mentor them.

Temo referred to service and advocacy as coming from a Latine "humble masculinity," one that contrasts the toxic masculine traits he also alluded to about his father's generation. His account addressed the dynamic nature of masculinity, that rarely is

understood by unidimensional schemas. Additionally, the emphasis placed on humility in construction of leadership showcased how the financial challenges his family faced inspired Temo to view his masculinity away from dominance, and into service. It seemed that within the oppressive nature of financial burden as a POC in the U.S., Temo decided not to implement hegemonic styles of leadership as he displayed his masculinity. Instead, there was a humble and honor-based style in the way he hoped to encourage others to become leaders as well. These men cemented their humble leadership theme in an appreciation for their Latine culture and the experiences it brought them. They attended to their gender privilege, while accounting for their ethnic status in the U.S. to construct this theme. By attending to those who are oppressed by the very same patriarchal structure that these men sometimes benefit from, they found a more prosocial construction of masculine identity, one embedded in their intersectional experiences.

In navigating experiences of both privilege and oppression, participants embraced empathy through their connection with members of the Latine community that are marginalized by hegemonic systems. Participants tended to extend their gratitude for the women in their lives, for helping to educate them about healthier expressions of masculinity. In this account, Sam shared how his experiences with his sister have helped to humble him, increase empathy, and foster a more inclusive approach to his gender identity. He noted:

> I don't have those feelings anymore [in reference to dominance]. Because I've been schooled by people who like care - whether it be my sister or somebody who was more open mind, minded…that a crucial part of masculinity is humbling yourself…because she shared with me her struggles, which enlightened me.

Sam appreciated his sister sharing her experiences of intersectionality as a Latine woman

and learned to embrace a humble and openminded view of gender. He empathized with his sister, and as shared in earlier quotes, with women and marginalized men as well. His recognition of his sister's impact on his ability to humble himself helped him express masculinity in a manner consistent with his values. Sam found himself humbled by his privilege as he learned about his sister's struggles, which provided him with a more prosocial view of his expression of masculinity and leadership. We discuss the influence of women in the lives of these men towards more prosocial attitudes about masculinity in Theme 5.

Participants also endorsed a value for open-mindedness to help construct this humble leadership and advocacy theme. They tended to connect open-mindedness to United Statesian values, specifically around gender identity and sexual orientation. Participants seemed to associate Latine masculinity with stricter gender roles and homophobia. They thus noted that in white United Statesian culture, there was more inclusivity and acceptance around fluid expressions of masculinity. Jonathan shared that "American culture is very like open minded about a lot of different things that a Catholic Mexican culture is not." Jonathan spoke about the pressures of *machismo*, influenced by Catholicism, which he described as "very strict on what things a man is supposed to do, and I just don't agree with that anymore." Jonathan described his masculinity as "not trying to put everybody down or show off…but instead helping each other and motivating each other." These quotes highlighted Jonathan's appreciation of more fluid expressions of masculinity, and how this flexibility allowed him to conceptualize leadership through motivation and acceptance, rather than through domination. He leaned

on what he described as United Statesian values of openness and acceptance and contrasts those with Catholic, and in turn often Latine expectations of manhood. Other participants also cited the religious influence on *machismo* as contributing to stricter gender roles in Latine culture. Andrés shared when speaking about religion in his family, that

> …like religion, like family values, everything goes by religion…. If I mentioned that I wanted to dye my hair blond or paint my nails my mom and dad would ask if I am gay.

Andrés later reported that he began to dye his hair in support of one of his soccer teammates who did the same and was chastised for it. He added that now he paints his nails often in an effort to embody a more inclusive expression of masculinity, one of "showing strength by having a different perspective, being creative." These men rejected the rigidity of *machista* beliefs surrounding gender roles and sexuality because it clashes with their values of inclusivity and advocacy. They connected with these values that they deemed more accessible in white United Statesian contexts. They seemed to embody a progressive and liberating expression of masculinity that was afforded in the U.S.

It seemed that these men engaged in a borderlands construction of leadership and masculinity informed by their own experience of Latine and United Statesian culture. They shared a hybrid construction of their masculine identity by drawing from both cultures as they considered their own identities and values. The construction of leadership and advocacy resonated with these men, and they included humility and inclusion in the way in which they chose to display their privileges. Participants connected to certain Latine values, such as humility and family, and with some United Statesian values of

open-mindedness around gender and sexuality. Their experiences as Latine people in the U.S. further fueled a compassionate approach to their roles as mentors for their communities and other men.

Theme 5: Emotional Vulnerability. Eight of the 12 participants discussed how their masculinity was expressed through emotional vulnerability. These participants clearly rejected the hegemonic standards placed on men to be emotionally stoic. They instead embraced a sense of pride in being emotional and in sharing vulnerability with others. In this section, it was unclear whether white United Statesian or Latine culture impacted their understanding of emotional vulnerability and masculine identity construction more. There were clear connections with Latine culture as these men discussed the importance of brotherhood, family, generational trauma, and acculturative pressures. However, it was less clear which specific culture was more impactful as they described the influence that education and women in their lives had on their masculine identity development. We present the societal influences that seemed already integrated into a borderlands construction, one in which the threads of each culture impacting it were unclear.

Participants discussed how their education helped them to expand their masculine identity to include emotional vulnerability. They attributed the influence of education to many sources, such as college, brotherhood, and women in their lives. For some men, like Andrés, college experiences were instrumental in providing him with access to emotional expression without sacrificing his masculinity. He shared:

> It's all about the mentality…I think it's important to take care of your mind and
> body. That means going to gym and being able to cry…I think in college, I, I,

began to embrace my emotions, it no longer is, like healthy to push away from it, men need to be proud of crying.

Andrés addressed a culture around his university and age group that seems to support a holistic view of health. He suggested that he learned to embody emotional vulnerability in learning to take care of his mental and emotional health. It became difficult to separate whether these college experiences were more closely tied to white United Statesian or Latine culture, as higher education is usually a time for self-exploration for people of all identities. However, recent literature supports men's modern masculine development through a critical gender consciousness, that centers feminist studies at the forefront of this change. Men have been able to develop their gender expression consciousness thanks to the feminist literature that provides critical analysis and liberation from damaging patriarchal frameworks (Siegel et al., 2022). Hurtado and Sinha (2016) connected Latine men's construction of prosocial masculinity to their increased exposure to feminist consciousness in secondary and higher education. While Andrés did not expand on what part of his college experience led to this, studies have shown that feminist movements and coursework have helped Latine men develop healthier attitudes regarding emotional vulnerability and masculinity (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016).

Participants also described their masculine construction around emotional vulnerability as being influenced by the groups they joined in college. Some men explained that through the connection they had with other young Latine men, they were able to break through the stereotype that "men don't cry." This realization seemed extra impactful when shared among other Latine men who understood the cultural expectations around emotional expression from both cultures. Genaro spoke about the impact of

brotherhood built in a Latino fraternity during college on his construction of masculinity.

He shared this when speaking about the significance of his artifact, a fraternity paddle:

> This paddle is important to me because it was the first time I was feeling validated by other Latino men specifically based on like, you know, the music I liked, or the movies or TV shows I appreciated…where I saw other males who looked like me and were very confident in their own masculinity…not the same as my uncles, or dad was presenting to me…it was the first time I was completely comfortable crying, and having others cry in front of me as we talked about you know, the fear of failure, the pressures that we face as Latino men in college, and so it was a very cathartic experience.

Genaro talked about the validation he felt in being able to share social identity in his in-group membership of other young Latine men. He highlighted the importance placed on creating this sense of belonging among other Latine men as they embrace vulnerability and common interests that connect with their idea of a progressive sense of masculinity. Genaro shared about how he felt comfortable expressing sadness and shedding tears as this group of young Latine men embraced their pain together. Andrés similarly discussed a moment he shared with one of his Latine friends in college that brought him a similar sense of work validation:

> We talked about how both of our dads, like they both did construction and everything, and then how day by day, as I get older, he gets older. You see the sacrifice that they made for you. We just got really emotional and literally we got in the car, and we just started crying.

Andrés and Genaro both shared experiences of emotional vulnerability with other young Latine men in ways that shaped their masculine self-concepts. They attended to the impact of these moments, noting how expressing emotional vulnerability has changed from a sign of weakness to a way to connect with other men experiencing similar situations. It was interesting that among this brotherhood, they were able to find comfort

while navigating generational trauma and acculturation stress faced by their families. They both discussed the pressures put on Latine men to honor the sacrifices of their ancestors, provide for their families, and succeed in secondary education while doing so in a contemporary way, through emotional vulnerability.

Participants were influenced by their relationships with other Latine men to find community when breaking unhealthy masculine stereotypes. However, they also identified their relationships to women in their lives, as having an influential impact in their development of emotional vulnerability. Five participants discussed relationships with mothers, sisters, girlfriends, friends, and grandmothers that helped them incorporate vulnerability in their idea of masculinity. Michael described Latine men as "mamas' boys" when discussing his artifact. He chose a stuffed animal that his mother gave him which reminded him that:

> I can contextualize myself in my family, I feel connected to my mother…the definition of masculine is feeling that you get to define your maleness or manhood, this is gonna be my definition because I want my stuffed animal, I want to think about my mom, you know.

Michael spoke about how his relationship with his mother allowed him to connect with his family and with his masculinity, in a way that welcomed vulnerability, care, and comfort. Another participant, Anthony, spoke about how his grandfather and father have helped him construct his sense of masculinity. When asked about the artifact he brought a picture of his grandfather and his grandmother. He stated that:

> My grandpa was this Machista dude. But then my grandma just opens up like this whole, like this like whole other side of him…Just kind of like this more intimate side I never met…my dad and grandma would tell me about how this guy was like the frigging dude, like a man.

Anthony spoke about how he looked up to his grandfather for being tough but also used this photograph to remind himself that there is also a vulnerable side, one that he feels his grandmother helped him access and, in turn, his relationship with women in his life has helped him access it as well. Jay shared about his relationship with his partner and how she has helped him open up:

> I have a great partner.... She is easy to communicate with. If she sees me down here, she'll be like 'What's wrong baby?' Even if you don't say that something is bothering you, you show it, you know emotionally. So, if I ever need to…to talk about it, she's there to rub my back, give me massages, make me feel better just to talk it out. She's a good communicator.

Jay highlighted how his partner's ability to read his emotional needs has helped him learn to lean on her and communicate with her when he is struggling.

Participants all discussed the influence of women in helping them see masculinity through emotional expression, rather than though hegemonic standards. They all noted how, within these relationships, they were able to view their masculinity differently. In relational spaces, they were allowed to authentically engage their emotional expressions. Hurtado and Sinha (2016) found that among their sample of Latine men, those who identified with modern masculine standards tended to also praise the impact of women in their lives on their masculine identity journey. For these men, being educated by these women helped them understand their gender privilege and the issues associated with toxic masculinity. Our participants also commended the women in their lives who helped them see a healthier approach to gender expression. These men were influenced more by these personal connections than by broader cultural messages coming from Latine and United Statesian cultures. Instead, they seemed to understand this experience as an

integrated cultural and gendered space that gave them freedom to express their masculinity openly, thanks to the education from women they cared about.

Participants articulated a connection between masculinity and emotional vulnerability rooted in their experiences attending college, sharing intimacy with other men, and being educated and supported by women in their lives. They displayed a sense of emotionality through navigating their shared experiences of oppression, such as the pressures on Latine men during college. They also discussed the impact that women in their lives had on their ability to notice their privilege and reject hegemonic masculine tropes of emotional coldness. These men seemed to be influenced by Latine values of *familismo* as well as common struggles among Latine youth, such as generation trauma and acculturative stress from their families. However, they also noted their education and their experiences with women as contributing factors which are sources that are difficult to dissect specific cultural influences from. A combination of influences allowed them to embrace emotional vulnerability into their appreciation for healthier conceptualizations of masculinity.

Conclusion of Aim 1

The participants in this study all acknowledged the hegemonic masculine standards expected of them, and as a whole, rejected these standards when describing their self-definitions. These men did not connect with tropes of traditional masculinity, possibly because of their age and educational level. This sample was comprised of young Latine adults, all who had attended or were currently attending higher education. Additionally, they did not identify with these hegemonic masculine ideals because of

stereotype threat and recognition of their lack of access to such privileges based on their Latine identity. Instead, they created their sense of masculinity based on their values, intersecting identities, experiences of privilege and oppression, and cultural influences.

In this sample, men's shared theme of personal constructions of masculinity seemed to align with pro-social aspects of culture. In doing so, they engaged in a process of creating social identity based on intersecting within- and outside-group associations. These Latine men's experiences were further influenced by both privilege and oppression, which the men had to respond to in multiple contexts. The dialectic of privilege and oppression changed based on the cultural demands of being of Latine culture while navigating a white United Statesian country. For example, they found privilege in their gender identity when sharing how they were humbled and educated by women in their lives to address their positionality within their families. Additionally, they expressed the pressure they felt by their families to succeed in oppressive and discriminatory systems, such as workplaces and universities. They noted the persistent discrimination that they had to face in order to navigate positions of power in larger white United Statesian contexts, while finding pride in their Latine culture to stay grounded to their values.

These participants explained how navigating both Latine and white United Statesian culture further influenced their construction of their masculine identity. The men in this study tended to display a parallel process in their construction of masculinity. Though their identities and experiences were different, they followed a similar pattern of connection or disconnection with Latine and white United Statesian cultures. Participants

connected to their Latine culture in explaining how themes of sacrifice/endurance and family/community man were constructed. They touched on how the endurance of discrimination and acculturation stresses faced by their families gave them pride in their Latine masculinity. They showcased how collectivistic attitudes and *familismo* informed the importance placed on belonging and membership to their community as men. Furthermore, these men embraced borderlands constructions of masculinity, created between Latine and white United Statesian cultures, but becoming separate as an independent entity of culture. They displayed such construction through unique constructions of themes such as confidence/pride, humble leadership and service, and emotional vulnerability. They were influenced by Latine values such as pride in their ethnic background, humility, and connection with women in their lives, as well as Western values like "being yourself" and open-mindedness around gender and sexuality identities, to create rich values of masculinity. They constructed masculine standards that were influenced by multiple cultural spheres and could flexibly be expressed in multiple settings. These participants were impacted by their position as Latine men in the U.S. as they found masculine constructions that allowed them to navigate multiple cultural expectations safely and authentically.

Aim 2

Additionally, we focused on giving voice to the diverse expressions of masculinity by examining the influence of intersectional identities such as sexual orientation, skin tone, and region of origin to achieve Aim 2. We highlight the diverse

creations of masculine identities informed by unique intersectional identities, experiences of privilege and oppression, and group membership. IPA work embodies the notion of *giving voice* in aligning with participants' unique expression of their story (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). IPA has been used effectively with intersectional frameworks to provide accounts of these unique experiences through consideration of culture, context, and identity (Parmenter et al., 2021).

The second part of these findings continues to use social identity, borderlands, and intersectional theories to expand and *give voice* to the differences in masculine identity construction focused mainly on three intersecting identity factors: skin tone, region of origin, and sexuality. We present the influences of culture, and the borderlands culture being created currently, on their construction of masculinity. We continue to highlight experiences of privilege and oppression that were influential in how these men experience and express their masculinity. However, we do not attempt to generalize the findings in this section to avoid further creation of unidimensional or rigid schemas about masculinity. Instead, we celebrate the diversity of experiences constructed somewhere between intersecting identities, cultures, and navigations of privilege and oppression. We aim to depict the interactions of these identities with authenticity and respect for the way they were told. We ask the reader to reflect on how their own intersectional identities impact the way they perceive, relate, or interpret these shared accounts. We hope that this section can be read as a living document in which the interaction between the intersectional identities of the reader and the participants merge to inform more nuanced understandings of masculinity. Understandings of masculinity created in a liminal space

between the cultures of the reader, author, and participants. This section is aimed at elevating the voices of these Latine men while sharing viable information for future masculine studies of intersecting identities among Latine men and Men of Color. We attend more to the unique experiences of these Latine men, based on three major identity factors: sexual orientation, skin tone, and region of origin (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Aim 2 Visual
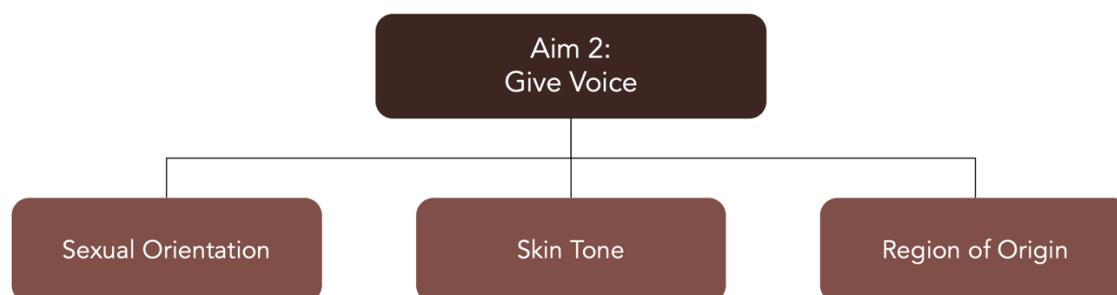
Theme 1: Sexual Orientation and Latine Masculinity

When asked "What other parts of your identity influence your masculinity?" 11 of 12 participants discussed sexual orientation. Ten of 12 participants identified as "straight/ heterosexual," and two identified as "gay." We present the accounts of these men as they constructed their ideas of masculinity based on their sexual orientation, framing our interpretation in the existing literature. We include the influence of major cultural pillars in this construction. We further include experiences of privilege and oppression and their influences on such construction. We simply touch on the majorities' experience and dive deeper into the experiences of members of more marginalized groups. In an effort to give

voice to the diverse experiences of men, we do not focus much on common themes but instead on the voices that are less represented in these communities.

Nine of the 12 participants associated stricter attitudes regarding sexual orientation and gender roles with Latine masculine culture. These participants related Latine societal definitions of masculinity with cisgender and heterosexual norms. Similar to the findings of aim 1, participants did not personally define masculinity in this way. However, they acknowledged the importance of heterosexuality in Latine masculinity and discussed how this message was omnipresent in their development of their masculinity. Andrés spoke about how his father questioned his sexuality whenever he expressed wanting to dye his hair or paint his nails. Michael said it best in his account of this association, stating that "masculinity versus sexuality should be like a little more separate. But yeah, I feel like in Latinx culture they're almost inextricably linked and inseparable." These men highlighted a strong relationship between Latine masculinity and heteronormativity. Still, four of the participants noted that this was not strictly true of Latine culture alone. Temo, for example, spoke about his experiences attending university in Utah. He stated in referring to strict gender roles and heteronormativity, "When I got to BYU, it's where I saw a lot of that kind of that negative aspect where these men thought they were the head of their household, in a negative manner…it was also 'illegal' to be gay." Temo highlighted the intricacies of hegemonic masculinity across cultures that demand straight and traditional men. These participants were all aware of the influence of sexual orientation on masculinity and provided their opinions on the matter.

Two participants acknowledged that the societal influence of masculinity and heterosexual standards did influence their view of masculinity. Alex reported that:

> I think sexual orientation does play a big role in the way we see masculinity as Latinos, and I think myself, I've been guilty of that just because I haven't really been around people who are gay or lesbian or whatever. I don't think they're really accepted in our community, as Latinos, I mean they're already not really accepted anywhere else. They should at least be accepted with their people, and I think that's honestly sad.

Alex's account acknowledged that, while he disagrees with this strict and homophobic aspect of masculinity, he still feels influenced by it. Additionally, he expressed lament for this approach and spoke about how he wishes it was more inclusive. One other participant acknowledged the influence of this link between straightness and masculinity in his own development. JJ reported that "It's okay for guys to be gay, it's okay for them metrosexual…even knowing that I'm not gonna like, I like still sometimes be judging even knowing that…I mean it's fucked up. But like its stereotypical right." JJ spoke about how unfair it feels to judge men on their sexual orientation and yet he feels that it is still present in masculine stereotypes. He later stated that "I could personally say like just cause you're gay doesn't mean you're not masculine." These two men highlight the difficulty in navigating multicultural expectations and messages. They both sit in between the influence of societal pressures and internalized messages about masculinity that make it challenging to separate the two. There seemed to be a sense of internal conflict as they addressed their role in maintaining hegemonic standards while noticing that these views did not align with their values.

The other 10 men communicated more defined ideas about masculinity and sexual orientation. While acknowledging that sexual orientation is often confused with

masculinity, they tended to completely disagree with this notion. These men expressed a clear rejection of hegemonic standards connecting masculinity with heterosexuality, and reported a unified message that sexual orientation does not impact their perceptions of masculinity. Manuel, who identifies as straight, spoke about his male identifying family members who are gay, as he stated:

> My cousin who just came out as gay, I see him as equally as manly as I am…I feel like being gay doesn't necessarily dictate your masculinity. It dictates who you like yeah but not necessarily your masculinity in my opinion.

Manuel earlier addressed that in Latine communities, sexuality influences other people's perspectives of masculinity but not his, as he is able to separate the two. Similarly, Sam who identifies as straight, spoke about how he considers straight men to be "recovering homophobes." He spoke about his personal journey in separating himself from certain homophobic views he grew up with, adding that:

> Me as a straight cis gender -you know- person, I have no real qualms with, like I don't feel weird about it. There were points in my life were maybe I was like. 'I shouldn't show this or act this way because maybe people are going to think a certain way or question my sexuality. I don't have those feelings anymore. You know, because I've also been schooled by people like I care about you know…who are more open minded.

Sam addressed how impactful it was for him to express his masculinity in a way that solidified his sexual orientation as straight, but no longer seems to be weighed by these pressures. He also spoke about being helped by open-minded people to distance himself from these messages and instead embrace a more affirming approach.

Similarly, other heterosexual men spoke about how they felt pressure to be perceived as heterosexual growing up. Andrés began painting his nails and dying his hair as a way to rebel against these hegemonic and machista standards. Genaro noted that in

his fraternity he was finally able to connect with other Latine men about liking pop music and boy bands, such as One Direction. Additionally, Genaro embraced his sexual identity exploration and used this journey to support similar stances on the relationship between sexuality and masculinity. He stated:

> I've already kind of gone through my sexual identity exploration phase and am able to say that no matter what was happening, I was always a man during those times, and I definitely have a lot of male friends who identify as bi, pan, transgender. Anything they do, I would say, is manly like. They are performing masculinity just because they identify as men.

Genaro simplified masculinity by noting that if it feels manly to these men then it is masculine. Similar to the men above, he noted that sexuality does not influence whether someone is masculine or not; in fact, participants embraced the notion that men who identify as gay, bi, pan, or other non-heterosexual orientations are just as worthy of masculine identity as anyone else. Other literature examining beliefs about masculinity with young Latine men found similar attitudes, noting that men understood a more flexible display of masculinity, one that included various expressions of masculinity and a rejection of hegemonic notions of heteronormativity and control (Walters & Valenzuela, 2020).

The men in this study who identified as heterosexual expressed inclusive opinions surrounding masculine conceptualization that included men of all sexual orientations. They also tended to acknowledge and reject machismo and hegemonic masculine standards that discriminate against sexuality-minority men. Overall, they spoke about having to be aware of heteronormative standards of masculinity, particularly in Latine spaces; however, participants did not discuss the influence of their straightness in

constructing their own masculine identity. As stated by Anthony "I've just been a straight

regular guy…it's been a straight shot through my masculinity and finding it every day."

Anthony noticed that attending to his masculinity has been a "straight shot," an easy path

for him where he did not need to question his masculinity given his status as a straight

man. When asked about how his sexual orientation or gender identity influenced

Kendrick's masculinity, he replied "I never really noticed it like that. Maybe there have

been times, but I don't really look at like that." It seemed that for many of the straight

men in this study, their sexual orientation simply fit into an already acceptable view of

masculinity in both Latine and United Statesian cultures. In turn, they had the privilege of

not including their sexual orientation much in their prosocial definition of masculinity, as

it was an area that was easily accepted. On the other hand, the two participants who

identified as gay saw their sexual orientation at the forefront of their masculine identity

construction and relationship with masculine messages from Latine and United Statesian

cultures.

Michael and Jonathan, the two participants identifying as gay, spoke about the

complexity in their masculine identity development. They spoke about the importance of

masculinity in their lives, and the way that was shaped by experiences of oppression and

privilege. They discussed the borderland space they navigate between cultural

expectations of masculinity, and how their intersectional identities impact this process.

Finally, they presented the ways in which they utilize masculine tropes now.

Michael and Jonathan both shared that to them, masculinity was not as important

now, as it once was. They seemed to find less importance in defining masculinity or even

expressing it. Michael stated:

> I'm gay. So, it's like you know masculinity, I don't care that much for anyways. Because when it comes to like being in a same sex relationship, like people always ask 'Oh, one of you has to be feminine'…I don't like watching RuPaul's Drag Race…but people will be like 'you're gay you have to like drag queens'…I don't like being put into boxes…it just shows how futile to try to really easily characterize masculinity, because it can be so fluid.

Michael's account displayed the parallel process he noticed in the stereotypes presented to him as both a man in gender expression and gay in his sexual orientation. Furthermore, he addressed the intersectional expectations on him as a gay man. He rejected these limitations of how he is supposed to interact based on these intersecting identities and found that both masculinity and gayness are fluid concepts that inform his person, but do not control his expression of self. Jonathan similarly expressed that to him it did not make sense to be tied to another label. When speaking about being a Person of Color, gay, and masculine, he shared "why put another barrier on ourselves that we don't have to when there's already so many in place to hold us back." It seems that their intersectional identities provided them with access to more flexible ways of understanding themselves and others. Within stories of oppression and privilege, they discussed in depth how they moved in between cultural spaces while finding a borderland masculinity that was true to them.

The first major cultural entity these men addressed was their disconnection from *machismo* standards. While hegemonic masculine standards are present in all patriarchal societies, Jonathon and Michael specially connected these messages with Latine masculinity. For Jonathan, it was important to specify which parts of Latine culture he found problematic. He shared:

> Identifying as a gay man I think has for the most part put me at odds with what masculine men are supposed to be. I think every aspect of my Mexican culture has been, you know, being a man is very hetero…I struggled to deal with that…I don't feel like I need to conform myself to the stereotype definition that our toxic culture has been imposing on us. And I feel this is being rooted further back, not just in Mexican culture, but it's really back to our colonial heritage….in a lot of Indigenous communities here in the Americas, it was not seen as something bad, awful, or anything like that to be gay.

Jonathan pointed out how within Latine cultures, there is a mixed cultivation of different influences, such as European colonial factors and Indigenous American ones. He explained that in Indigenous cultures there was acceptance of diverse gender expressions and sexual orientations and how colonial ideals informed the more recent association with homophobic aspects of Latine culture. He added that:

> In college, it was my opportunity to really explore my whole identity. I realized how much there was such a clash with my Mexican culture and now American culture I was living in. They just didn't quite fit exactly right, and the American culture is very open minded about a lot of different things that a Catholic Mexican culture was not. So, I started letting go of aspects of my culture that didn't align with what I wanted my life. Religion was one of them, that was very strict on what things a man is supposed to do…so there are parts of my identity that I just had to let go of in order to accept and love who I am as a person.

For Jonathan, the Catholic and colonial influence on strict gender roles and heteronormativity oppressed the very fabric of his self. He had to disconnect with this part of his culture because these institutions rejected his sexual identity. These messages pushed him away from Latine culture as a whole, as it did not represent his social identity as a gay man. Instead, he found a more accepting space in United Statesian culture, that despite still subscribing to hegemonic masculinity, afforded him inclusion. Jonathan is not alone in this experience, as Latine families and culture have often been associated with more hypermasculine and homophobic viewpoints (Diaz, 1997; Mirandé, 1997). It

should be noted that Jonathan was clear as to what parts of his Latine culture he disconnects with, Catholicism in particular. Recent scholars have argued that the association between Latino masculinity and homophobia masks the underlying structural factors behind this link for Latine communities. There is evidence to suggest that economic resources (Cantú, 2009), higher educational experiences (Duran & Perez, 2017), gendered socialization within immigrant families, and racialization in the U.S. (Ocampo, 2012) may contribute more to this association than simply all Latine cultures being homophobic.

For Jonathan, it was important to separate himself from Catholic masculine standards, which in turn separated him from much of his Mexican culture. He stated, "I wanted to like identify with my Mexican culture, but in a way that it wasn't interfering negatively with the identity I was building." Jonathan felt that in order to love himself, he had to choose between parts of Latine culture and his sexuality when it came to his masculine identity. Despite the disconnection, Jonathan connected to family values deeply tied to Latine culture. He shared that he appreciated his family in connecting him with being "able to speak Spanish when one of my siblings, or my mom would give me call." He connected to Indigenous teachings and cemented his masculine identity within parts of Latine culture that were aligned with his sexual orientation, while connecting with more United Statesian values and higher education opportunities to find self-acceptance. Other studies of Queer students of Color support this notion of Latine gay college students finding belonging and freedom through their racial and sexual identities in higher educational institutions (Duran, 2019; Peña-Talamantes, 2013). Jonathan's

account suggests that he had to be flexible in separating himself from certain parts of one culture while connecting to other parts as he found a place in which he could find self-love and acceptance around his masculinity. His construction of masculinity required Jonathan to navigate a borderland consciousness to include his intersecting identity within the standards of multiple parts of multiple cultures.

Jonathan best demonstrated his ability to navigate this borderland space as he discussed moments in which he adopts more traditional displays of masculinity. He shared:

> Masculinity is also a form of like a shield in some spaces. Like, I know, with some family and other people or different environments, where I don't feel entirely safe being 100% who I am, I embody a more masculine, more heterosexual, cisgender male to feel safe.

Jonathan explained how his sexual identity requires him to be flexible and adaptable in how he presents in certain spaces, to find safety and belonging. He is forced into a position in which he must access his positionality based on his identities and the multiple cultures he frequently inhabits. This negotiation of gender presentation for Latine gay men is supported by other research that suggests that Latine gay men must employ certain strategies to navigate homophobic family environments and racist white society to find authenticity across cultures (Ocampo, 2012).

Michael shared similar views to Jonathan but also had a slightly different experience in navigating multiple cultures, his intersecting identities as a gay man, and his masculinity. He spoke about how he also rejected certain standards of Latine masculinity such as *machismo* but connected to others such as *caballerismo* and *familismo*. In discussing his masculine identity journey, he shared that growing up the

hegemonic messages of *machismo* were harmful and difficult for him. He stated:

> It's definitely something that takes a lot to be reconciled, especially because I feel like a lot of Latinx culture, it's like when you don't have like a heterosexual sexuality, it damages your masculinity cuz it's seen as you know, less than a man.

Michael echoed the association that many of these participants had around homophobic messages within Latine culture. He provided this account to display how difficult it was for him to see his masculinity within this strict *machista* message that only accepted heterosexuality. He added that when he is Latine spaces, such as Miami, he is more aware of his masculinity than when occupying more white United Statesian spaces, such as Virginia. Additionally, he shared his reactions to reading Queer Latin American literature in college, which gave him both positive and negative messages about his intersectionality. He reported:

> I feel like I owe to the privilege of getting an undergraduate education, because it's like I was exposed to so many diverse viewpoints. My experiences, my thoughts, and beliefs were always challenged through the classes I took…I became a lot more secure in my masculinity…I express myself, I don't care like you know I am gay, but I don't watch RuPaul Drag Races…maybe I want to watch a rom com which is not endorsed by traditional machismo roles…we're all just trying to define our own truth and that truth is really subjective.

Michael credited his education with helping him question standards around his expression of masculinity and his sexuality. He rejected both forms of stereotypes and found that in his studies he was able to free himself from the labels and expectations he felt in combination of his Latine and gay identity.

Michael also connected with certain parts of Latine culture and Latine masculinity that helped construct his own form of masculinity. He noted that family, and specifically his relationship with certain family members helped in this process. When discussing his

artifact, Michael chose a stuffed animal from a video game he used to play with his mother. He noted that it connected him to "the biggest stereotype of a Latino man…being a mama's boy." He expanded to say that this artifact connected him to his family, which allowed him to contextualize himself as part of that unit. Michael also spoke about the influence of his uncle on his development of masculinity, sharing a story in which his uncle's rejection of traditional *machista* standards helped him connect to a more modern idea of Latine masculinity for himself. He reported that his uncle and aunt would often share financial obligations, chores, and even driving responsibilities– in which his aunt would often drive while his uncle was in the passenger seat. In response to this, Michael shared:

> He doesn't care so why should we care? And so, in a very interesting way to me I feel like he does role model healthy masculinity. Because he's like not caring about social norms, and instead chose to live his life and I think it's great masculinity. I completely agree and am likewise, you know – I'll be honest, I'm gay.

Michael chose to use this example of his uncle's influence on him to begin speaking about his own sexual orientation. It seemed that seeing members of his Latine family display a non-traditional expression of masculinity helped him understand his own. It's interesting that these men, especially Michael, found a positive connection between his relationships with his family and his sexual orientation. In other studies of Latine gay men, men tended to be forced into silence about their queer identity out of fear of familial judgment and rejection (Duran & Perez, 2017). Michael did not speak about his relationship with his father but spoke at length about his uncle and mother and about how his connection to them helped him shape his own expression of masculinity, one that

rejects labels and fosters authentic connection. Additionally, Michael defined his

masculinity as:

> I like to think more of like what it means to be a gentleman…to stand up for what
> you believe in, being confident in yourself. You know- advocating for others, I
> think, a manly thing to do would be to be brave and stand up for others.

He commented on this idea of being a gentleman again throughout the interview and

tended to bond with the pillars of *caballerismo*. He spoke about using his privilege to

advocate and help others, to be socially responsible, humble, and chivalrous. Michael

seemed to find pockets of the culture that allowed him to feel Latine without damaging

his own sexual orientation identity. He found a borderland space to include his

intersectional identity in a way that connected him with himself and his communities.

Michael clarified his connection with *caballerismo* by stating:

> I feel masculine in that way too [when speaking about helping others in need],
> this is a good thing I'm doing for people. And once again not trying to do it
> because of being paternalistic…not trying to patronize people and be like "Oh you
> poor thing."

It was important for Michael to be aware of his experiences of privilege too,

acknowledging how *caballerismo* and chivalry in general can have benevolent sexist

undertones. It seemed that Michael was aware of his intersections as he formed his idea

of masculinity. He considered his privilege in being male identifying in a hegemonic

society, while acknowledging the oppression of being a gay Latine man in both Latine

and white United Statesian spaces. He seemed to find a flexible expression of masculinity

that allowed him to be grounded in himself while navigating different positionalities

based on how his identities interacted with the environment.

  Both Jonathan and Michael shared a parallel borderlands identity process despite

having different experiences within the cultures. They both found a way to position their identities in a space that allowed them to navigate Latine and white United Statesian culture. For them, it seemed that they had to be more specific about which parts of Latine culture they connected with in forming a masculine identity that included their sexual orientation. They found this through connection with others, familial relationships, higher education, advocacy, self-love and confidence, and a more thoughtful analysis of what influences certain "Latine" beliefs. In doing so, these men found definitions of masculinity that encompassed their experiences of privilege and oppression. Additionally, they tended to bind self-confidence with pride around breaking stereotypes and pushing boundaries. Jonathan did so in wearing pink gloves at the gym while Michael found a stuffed animal to be the best reflection of his masculinity, both examples showing how these men constructed a masculinity that defied traditional standards and was found within and between intersecting identities and cultures. This construction suggests a borderland identity navigating multiple cultural pieces and can be further understood when incorporated with disidentification theory. This theory suggests that Queer Folxs of Color exist in environments of racial and heteronormative discrimination, and that instead of assimilating to such systems, they disidentify from these oppressive messages. The process of disidentification includes challenging traditional meaning and critiquing dysfunctional ideology (Duran et al., 2020; Muñoz, 1999). Jonathan's and Michael's artifacts are a powerful example of this process at play, as they pushed the boundaries of hegemonic masculinity across various contexts to point out the flaws in the system in place. This expression of confidence and advocacy was also demonstrated by

some of the straight-identifying participants, such as Andrés painting his nails and Genaro listening to One Direction with his friends. It is imperative to point out that Queer and Feminist movements underly the liberty that all men in this study were able to access in construction of their gender identities.

Theme 2: Skin Tone and Latine Masculinity

Participants used the Scale of Skin Color Darkness (SSCD) to self-assess skin tone during their initial online screening (see Figure 4; see also Massey et al., 2013). Scores on this scale ranged from 2-6 within this sample of participants. We include the score that each participant indicated in the SSCD in this section to provide context to their responses.

Figure 4

Skin Color Self-Assessment Tool
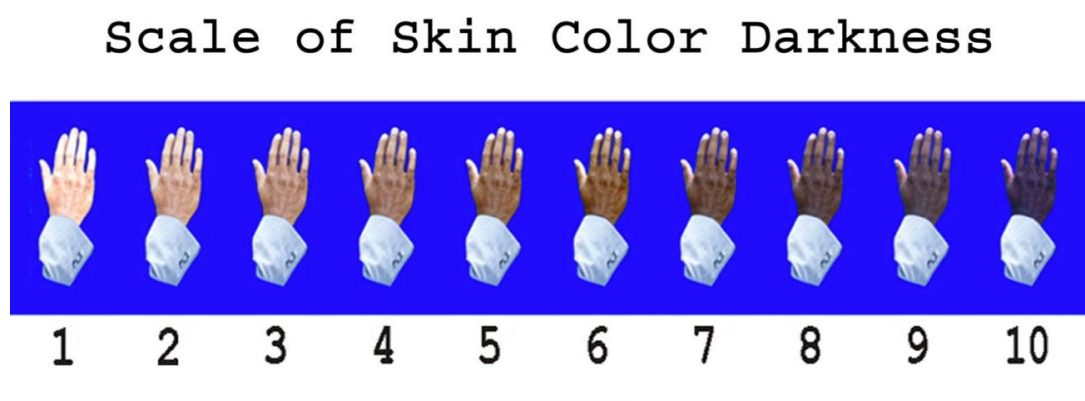
Attitudes regarding the influence of skin tone on masculinity definitions for these men were varied. Three of the participants reported no interaction between skin tone and their construction of masculinity. Anthony, who rated a 2 in the SSCD, stated:

> Well, personally for me, no! My skin tone has never been an issue. I personally don't see it as an issue, and masculinity in any type of skin tone. I don't really see it like that at all. That's an interesting question. No, personally my skin tone has never been on issue from my masculinity, or a topic to mix into my masculinity, and I also don't see skin tone as an issue in masculinity.

Andrés also noted that he sees little link between masculinity and skin tone; he rated a 4 on the SSCD and shared:

> That's a good question. I never thought about that skin tone from what I honestly think of I don't, I don't think that it necessarily plays a big role, skin tone, because I feel like, when you see someone's skin tone. You don't really think of like the sense of either their masculine or not right either.

Similarly, Jay who rated a 6 on the SSCD, reported that:

> I mean I'll give you an example like I guess cause Miami is different like you don't get you know in other states. You know. So, I don't know Wyoming I don't know where racism happens like Louisiana, I don't know whether they have these racist cities?... it's a melting pot everybody's diverse you know, when people see me, they don't assume Black. They assume Dominican they don't assume African American. They look at me and assume Dominican, or you know, sometimes I get Cuban. But yeah, since Miami is just Hispanic, you know. I'll say 90% you don't really experience that. you know that racism here, in Miami.

These men explained that they did not see how skin tone could influence their perception of masculinity. For Jay, it was important to point that that he viewed the lack of racism he has experienced as a Black man to the diversity in culture of Miami.

The connection between skin tone and masculinity appeared more dominant for the other nine participants, however. Seven of the remaining nine participants observed that lighter skinned men were seen as less masculine, while darker skinned men were perceived as more masculine. Only two of the nine participants who saw skin tone impacting masculinity concretely expressed the opposite, that lighter skin was associated with more masculinity and darker skin with less masculinity. However, eight of these

nine participants expressed that, in their experience mainly in the U.S., lighter skin provided overall privilege and opportunity while darker skin was associated with discrimination.

The seven participants mentioned above expressed that they associated darker skinned men with more masculine traits and lighter skinned men with less masculine ones, and at times feminine traits. Jonathan, rated himself a 3 on the SSCD, simply put it as "I feel like it's always like a brown man that is portrayed being more masculine and I feel like the more pale you are, you might be seen as, you know, you're not as strong or buff." Michael, 5 on SSCD, similarly expressed "Fairer skin tones don't correlate with masculinity. And I feel like to a certain extent, darker skin tones are more equated with masculinity." The other five men echoed this sentiment, noting different reasons as to why they believed that this distinction was made among Latine men. While there is little research on Latine masculinity and skin tone, other works focusing on Black and African American masculinity found the same association among young men (Veras, 2016). This study supports a perceived link between being darker skinned and more masculine among these Groups of Color in the U.S. One reason these men presented to explain their perception of darker skinned men more masculine compared to lighter skinned men was the difference between outside and inside labor. Manuel, 3 on the SSCD, explained that:

> I guess this is more of a common stereotype among the Latino community. If, I am more light skinned 'Oh, you're stuck inside, you know you're doing office work,' but like if you're brown, or oh, that means 'you're outside, you know, you're doing more physically demanding jobs'…in tech jobs you don't necessarily need you know, heavy lifting…more like be knowledgeable about things…but I feel more of a man and more in touch with my masculinity whenever I do more physically demanding jobs.

Michael, 5 on the SSCD, contributed by citing a similar evolutionary perspective when

he said:

> Going back to the evolutionary perspective, it means a man is out in the field or hunting a tiger and stuff like that. He's like darker. He's been in the sun…he's bronzed. Whereas the lighter skin tone is like some man who's been sitting inside all the time and could be doing, you know, domestic work…but that's my primate brain telling me what I think about skin tone and masculinity, back peddling into traditional gender roles…When I feel tan…I'm like I gotta put this on my tinder…I just feel like that masculine aura that comes from having gotten in some tan.

Kendrick, 6 on the SSCD, explained his rationale for this association noting that:

> But I kind of see like in my eyes growing up as a kid - I'm like, no, the hard workers are the ones who are like, you can like tell like their skins like getting like darker every day like I'm like, regardless of what race you are…. I'm like their skin tone like is getting darker and everything like those are the…those are the hard workers. Like those are the ones who like who have to like you know make sacrifices for others. And like the ones who have dirt all over them like.

Manuel, Michael, and Kendrick seemed to attribute traditional masculine traits to darker

skinned men based on stereotypical demands of physical labor. They connected their idea

of masculinity closely with that of strength, sacrifice, and hard work which helped

explain why darker skinned men would be deemed more masculine, given the amount of

time they spent laboring in the sun. It also seemed that these associations with outside vs.

inside labor were deeply rooted in colonialism. Colonialism created caste, or class

systems, based on skin tone, which tended to determine labor allocations. Traditionally,

darker skinned folxs, both Indigenous and Black people (brought in for slavery), were

required to perform work outside while those of Spanish descent were given business

positions performed indoors (Castillo & Abril, 2009). It seemed that these men associated

the strength and toughness of outdoor labor with more masculine traits, partly influenced

by traditional themes of masculinity rooted in colonial practices.

These men addressed these traditional expectations of masculinity and skin tone and even questioned the origin of these ideas, naming them "primitive" and "stereotypical." However, unlike earlier in the interview when they dismissed traditional messages of masculinity for themselves, and instead adopted modern or progressive ones, these men tended to continue to adhere to the traditional ideas of darker skin and masculinity. It is unclear why, in the topic of skin tone, these men tended to align more with traditional beliefs, but it could be that they had not considered this aspect of intersectionality much before the interview. Many of the men expressed that they had never thought about it before and might be more prone to associating their perception of masculinity with more available and traditional themes.

Other men focused on other cultural messages they had heard to explain their association of darker skinned men being more masculine and lighter skinned men being less masculine. Genaro, 3 on the SSCD, shared about how this question made him think of *Whitexicans*, he explained:

> The only thing that I am like aware of right now is I'm sure you've heard so like I'm ethnically Mexican...I don't know if you've heard of like the term Whitexican when it comes to like the upper class more lighter skinned from Mexico, and there seems to be a like culture of bullying/making fun of how specifically the men who are Whitexican are. And I have noticed that it seems to be like femininity almost applied to the Whitexican…and we see the opposite when it comes to like Black men, or men who are Latino who have Blacker skin tones where we view them as more masculine or more manly because they are of a darker shade, and yeah, I- I've never thought about that really. But my dad is definitely a darker shade than I am, and he would for sure consider himself more masculine than myself.

Genaro's account explored the class-based difference between lighter skinned Mexican men and darker skinned ones. He noted that Whitexican men, usually of upper class, tend

to be seen as effeminate in their presentation. It is difficult to fully comprehend the meaning of Genaro's account without the context that Whitexicans and other lighter skinned Latine folxs are provided "privilegio blanco" or white privilege in societal, financial, educational, and political systems across Latin countries (Alvarez-Pimentel, 2020; Ceron-Anaya et al., 2023; Viveros Vigoya, 2023). The association with Whitexican men as described by Genaro could be tied to inside/outside roles discussed above and could perhaps hint at power struggles between upper class men and middle- and lower-class men. The construction of this association of Whitexican men being less masculine could be understood using Threat Appraisal and Coping Theory. This theory explains that when individuals note a social threat (e.g., discrimination based on skin color) and feel a sense of powerlessness, they might develop coping mechanisms (e.g., making fun of those in power) to contact a sense of power again (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This could help explain the original construction of this association, especially when considering the caste systems created in colonial Latin America, rooted in colorism (Castillo & Abril, 2009). In fact, a recent study found that Latine men who sensed an increased amount of powerless over being discriminated against, tended to deploy more aggressive styles of masculinity to combat experienced oppression (Hendy et al., 2022). These self-protective attributions of lighter skinned men being less masculine may influence perceptions of skin tone and masculine associations among Latine men.

The notion of "privilegio blanco" permeated participants' responses, as they addressed compounded privilege of whiteness and masculinity. For example, JJ, 4 on the SSCD, noted that if "you're light skinned, you get to get away with like you know, walk

in room and they're like okay he's not, you know, threatening." He acknowledged the privilege of being light skinned as a way to navigate different contexts with less stigma around other's perceptions of safety. He added that for him, darker skin is connected with masculinity because of the discrimination experienced by People of Color in the U.S. He shared:

> Someone like me, a little brown, a little bit more Indigenous looking. They're gonna be like 'Oh, that's a tough guy right there'…and later we're like hanging out and they're like like 'Oh, you're actually kind of like nice and you know, not aggressive, and when we met you, we thought you were going to be some hard ass.'

JJ showcased how his darker complexion and Indigenous features immediately were associated with aggressiveness and being a "hard ass." Research supports that Latine folks with more Indigenous facial features and darker complexions were more likely to experience discrimination and punishment (Lavariega Monforti & Sanchez, 2010; White, 2015). Despite JJ pointing out the privileges of whiteness, he still associated darker men with more masculine traits, but highlighted the racist undertones and consequences of this association.

He continued his account of how people perceive him and the way in which he has had to navigate his own masculine expression, due to his darker skin tone and Indigenous features. He noted people will assume he is more masculine and more aggressive, and that he must then adapt and relate to this stereotype to best serve his needs. He added:

> As fucked up as it is for like some dark skin people, or whatever, like someone being threatened by you, is almost like a badge of honor you know. Like Okay, this motherfucker fears me so much that he's like threatened by me and I'm more comfortable knowing that they're like scared of me cuz I'm not scared then.

JJ contended that darker skinned men have had to adopt a hypermasculine persona in order to navigate an already dangerous racist community. He seemed to explain that he would rather be feared than have to fear for his own safety based on this very same stereotype of dark skinned Latine men that equally gives him protection and puts him in danger. His experience highlighted a dilemma for JJ in which he must lean on this stereotype to gain respect from other men in terms of masculinity. However, he also lamented the fact that many people will be threatened by him instantly, will profile him unjustly, and classify him as dangerous. This theme was similarly found among Black and African American men who discussed the pressures they felt to either display more toughness and aggression (for lighter skinned Black men) to be respected or withhold from any display of toughness or aggression to avoid discrimination, false convictions, and racism (for darker skinned Black men; Veras, 2016). JJ's account shared the need to balance his expression of masculinity based on his context, to better navigate his environment for safety. His skin tone, race, Latinidad, and masculinity intersected to create a borderland space in which he must carefully navigate the contexts he is in. He leveraged the fear gained by masculine stereotypes of darker skinned men with the burdening oppression of his status as an Indigenous-presenting darker skinned Latine men in this country. Michael, 3 in the SSCD, stated that perhaps "Having darker skin tone could be a form of a shield in skin tone/masculinity to the oppression of society. So, men have to be tough and strong in order to withstand the oppression of society." He suggested that perhaps the toughness that is associated with darker skinned Latine men is a learned response to the oppression they must face daily, one that had to be adapted in

order to survive. Additionally, creating a borderland consciousness of masculine expression seemed to better serve these men by creating a flexible approach to the way they displayed masculinity depending on their safety and context in the U.S. This theme was also discussed by Jonathan in having to act more aggressively and dominant to find safety in certain Latine spaces where his masculinity felt questioned due to his identity as a gay Man of Color.

Other men also discussed the dynamics of power and oppression associated with skin tone in the U.S. Some did not explicitly connect it to masculinity, but they did speak about the impact it had on their overall understanding of their identity as a Latine person in the U.S. Sam, 2 in SSCD, for example noted that he felt humbled and privileged by his white-passing complexion as a Latine man, and still felt at odds with how that impacted his in-group membership. He shared:

> You've talked to certain people, and you really see people's struggles, you know, you're kind of like, it humbles you…. I consider myself like white passing, basically, I mean look at me, my skin tone…what I wanted to be seen wasn't even really like even logical, because I wanted to be seen as like some of the Latino celebrities I looked up to. For example, I was like I…at a point in my life, I used to listen to a lot of reggaeton. It was like I wanna be seen as like Della Ghetto. I want to be seen like Daddy Yankee.

Sam articulated the dialectic between acknowledging his white-passing privilege and struggling to find accurate representation in the media for his Latinidad. He noted that he looked up to and wanted to mimic some of the male reggaeton artists of his youth, but struggled to feel that he could really present himself this way because of his lighter skin tone. Similar research has found that for Latine folxs, those who identify with darker tones are more likely to feel closer to other Latine people than of those lighter

complexion in the U.S. (Clealand & Gutierrez, 2022). Sam did not explicitly connect how this process impacted his masculinity, but he demonstrated the complexity of identity formation he considers when presenting his cultural and gender expression. He inhabited a liminal space to balance his skin tone within the context of the U.S. by saying white-passing rather than white. He reported:

> Sometimes I just say white, and I'm like I can't say that though personally, because I don't feel that way cause I have been in circles with white people, and I've had interactions with white people where they don't view me as white. Not at all.

He had contextualized his experiences of whiteness compared to other POC and found a word that best describes his privilege while acknowledging his oppression in white spaces, all in construction of his masculinity and the representation he sees of Latine men in the media.

While some of the men discussed privileges afforded to white men and discriminatory factors for why darker skinned men are more likely associated with masculinity, only two reported a different association between masculinity and skin tone. For Temo and Alex, the association between these factors was better presented as lighter skinned men being more masculine and darker skinned men as less so. Though it is clear the other participants were touching on points of privilege and class-based systems when discussing lighter skin, Temo and Alex explicitly expressed that for them the relationship between skin tone and masculinity rested on power, status, wealth, and discrimination. Temo, a 6 in SSCD, shared:

> My parents like had to deal a lot with that. Where it's like the lighter skin was preferred as opposed to the darker skin, and the lighter skin kind of had that more masculine kind of dominant masculinity, or that superiority, as opposed to the

darker skin. And I kind of saw that in both communities [referring to Mexico City and the U.S.].

Temo expressed how he was able to notice different treatment of the men in both cultures, displaying clear examples of how colorism and racism dictated masculine hierarchies. Temo illustrated the way in which colorism impacted the way members of his own family were treated. He reported:

My uncle was telling me a lot of how cause we're all kind of darker skin, because my grandma she was a quarter Black…saying how like the lighter complexions had more of a dominant masculinity to us because they thought they were kinda superior to darker skin Hispanics…how his other grandma didn't like him being around because he was dark skinned…I could tell the lighter skinned ones [men] were treated better, had that dominant masculinity within their families, were like heads of households.

His account displayed a clear image of the intricacies of familial and societal structures for Men of Color. The power of the men to be "heads of households," dominant, and superior is linked to the complexion of their skin, leaving those with darker skin tone without access to respect, acceptance, and authority in these structures. Recent studies have shown that, for those of darker skin, there is significantly less access to the top privileges of hegemonic masculinity described by Temo (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ferber, 2007; Ocampo, 2012). Additionally, this delineation of power is also clear in studies of colorism within Latine communities, in which power is given to lighter skinned folxs, a practice rooted in colonialism (Castillo & Abril, 2009; Haywood, 2017).

Alex, who rated himself a 5 on the SSCD, shared similar accounts within his family. He explained that his mother's side is "darker…like we come from Aztec blood" and his father, from the Northern part of Mexico, he described as "White guy like and lightly complexed." When asked about his masculinity within the context of skin tone

Alex responded:

> I felt less of a man when I was around my dad's family. Because they were all light complexity. Growing up I felt less of a man because I was dark skinned. I don't know where that comes, it's not part of our culture, but it is in America. Like the slavery part…but when I would go with my mom's family to San Luis, it was like everybody looked like me. Everyone was dark skinned and short. I'm a chaparo. That's me…so when I was there, I was more comfortable, you know. I could talk with people, and I can be more confident, asking for food, just different things.

Alex showcased the impact that his own familial context had on his experience of masculinity. He noted being able to feel confident in his masculinity, ability to socialize, and appearance (both stature and skin tone) when around his darker skinned family. His account highlighted the varied access to his masculine expression and pride, deeply dependent on being around lighter or darker skinned family. Alex noted that growing up near different family made a major difference for him, suggesting that a sense of belonging is important in the development of masculinity. Furthermore, he modeled another example of the borderland space that many Latine men navigate, by attending to their skin tone in the context of how safe their environment is. His own expression of masculinity varied by context, something that other men, like JJ, explained when being surrounded by lighter or darker skinned folxs. For Alex, feelings of belonging and an freedom from discrimination for his darker skin helped him formulate a confident sense of masculinity. There is extant literature to support that, for Latine men, feelings of belonging have benefits in academic settings (Rodriguez et al., 2019), acculturation to the U.S. (Abascal, 2017), and psychological well-being (Binning et al., 2009). It would seem that a sense of belonging could be highly beneficial also for Latine men's masculine identity development.

Additionally, Alex and Temo both shared accounts of moments in which they noticed similar patterns of skin tone privilege and oppression outside of familial contexts. They spoke about moments in the U.S. in social, educational, and occupational settings. Temo shared:

> When I came to Utah, I did see kind of that difference, because you always just stick out whenever you go anywhere. I remember plenty of my class where I'd be the only brown kid or only person of color in a class of 50…you are kind of like off to side, you're not given those roles as much…I would see a lot of these white men in these classes, be given like roles of leadership…as opposed to me.

Temo expressed that for him, masculinity is closely tied to leadership positions, which were not granted to him during his time in Utah. His account demonstrated the inequities of opportunities provided to Men of Color due to stereotypes and characteristics associated with light skinned men vs. dark skinned men. Alex presented a similar frustration in his recollection of the managers he has had at work, when he stated:

> I think authority…I think masculinity equals authority in that sense. Now I'm thinking like all my managers have never been darker than me. They've always been light skin, like every single one…I see it in white culture more than anything because of the environment that I am in…wealth like money, status, equals masculinity.

Alex added to Temo's association of masculinity with leadership positions and further pointed out that wealth and SES capital also represents masculinity in white Western cultures. Status, wealth, and power have always been staples of hegemonic masculinity among United Statesian samples with a strong correlation to capitalism attitudes (Acker, 2004; Cheng, 1999). In such a capitalist country, it is no surprise that these men noted that masculinity is closely correlated with wealth and status, and in turn, this wealth and status is dependent on the lightness of one's skin. These men experienced masculinity

through the lens of their skin tone, and specifically, through the opportunities presented to them in socioeconomic systems designed to undervalue the contributions of darker skinned men. In a recent study among immigrants to the U.S., researchers found that there was a significant wage and opportunity disparity between Latine folxs and their white United Statesian counterparts. The disparity remained significant within the Latine sample, with darker skinned folxs earning up to 20% less than their lighter skinned counterparts (Rosenblum et al., 2016). This last point suggests that in the context of a hegemonic society, such as the U.S., there is power in being lighter skinned, which in turn provides access to masculine privileges such as SES and educational opportunities.

In conclusion, the majority of participants attributed darker skin tone with more masculinity traits. They seemed to connect hegemonic tropes of strength, aggression, and toughness to this association. Some men explained this relationship via class-based systems and outside/inside labor conceptualization rooted in colonialism. Other men discussed how discrimination and racism towards darker skinned folxs shaped these prejudiced connections, associating aggression, and danger with darker complexions. These findings support other research in skin tone and masculinity in Black and African American samples, finding that masculine prowess can be attributed to darker skinned men (earning admiration or respect), while taken away by color-based systems of discrimination in terms of lack of opportunity and association with aggressiveness (Trautner et al., 2013; Veras, 2016). These men discussed how the privilege allocated to lighter skinned men and discrimination toward darker skinned men in both Latine and U.S. contexts impacted perceptions of masculinity in others.

Additionally, for two participants, the association between skin tone and masculinity was inversed, with lighter complexions perceived as more masculine. These men understood the association through mechanisms of power, status, and wealth presented to lighter skinned men. They shared personal accounts of oppression due to their skin tone in both Latine familial spaces and United Statesian capitalistic ones. They highlighted the importance of belonging and community in constructing their own masculinity and the damage of skin tone discrimination in acquiring access to masculine privileges. Research also supports the disparities in access for Men of Color in hegemonic societies such as the U.S. (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ferber, 2007; Ocampo, 2012). Other work has suggested that, due to this disparity, lighter skin might grant Latine men access to more white privileges such as SES (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). All of these factors were understood through privilege associated with light skin and whiteness, with accounts of both familial and occupational/education contexts in which these patterns played out.

There was a distinction in how men perceived the relationship between skin tone and masculinity. For those describing hegemonic masculinity as strength, aggression, and toughness they tended to view darker complexions as more masculine while those who viewed hegemonic masculinity as status, wealth, and power tended to view lighter complexions as more masculine. The participants also appeared to be more influenced by hegemonic masculine standards in this section than in other components of the results, perhaps due to limited previous reflection on this intersection of identity. The literature on skin tone and masculinity among POC has also found mixed results, even within the

same study. Veras (2016) indicated that participants noted masculine privileges given to darker skinned Black and African American men in the form of respect for strength and toughness, while lighter skinned Black and African American received it in the form of reduced racial discrimination and higher perceived attractiveness and sexual prowess. In our study, participants tended to associate darker skinned Latine men with similar forms of masculine privilege in toughness, hard work, and respect while connecting lighter skinned men with privileges in access, power, and status.

Furthermore, for Latine men there were displays of the necessity of borderlands masculine constructions at the intersection of skin tone, Latinidad, and masculinity. They displayed a borderland consciousness in creating their own identities (e.g., Sam), in using a stereotype of darker skin men as a form of protection while being harmed by it equally (e.g., JJ), and noticing how their expression of masculinity was influenced by racist experiences in familial context and occupational settings (e.g., Alex and Temo). These Latine men had to consider the function of their skin tone stereotype in order to navigate spaces safely and authentically. These men had to flexibly understand their positionality within ethnicity, skin tone, and gender expression and consider multiple contexts as they shaped their construction of masculinity. While their experiences differed, the borderlands construction seemed to be parallel.

Theme 3: Region of Origin and Latine Masculinity

The interaction between region of origin and masculinity in this sample of Latine men was varied. Participants seemed to struggle to connect their masculinity with region or country of origin. In fact, only three of the 12 participants discussed the influence of

their country of origin on their masculinity. This was partly explained because the

participants tended to talk about their ethnicity using pan-ethnic terms such as "Hispanic"

or "Latino." At times, participants would refer to their country of origin such as saying,

"in Mexican culture." However, when asked specifically about the Mexican influence, as

opposed to a Latine influence, participants did not provide further insights into its role in

masculinity. It could be that the way the interview was structured asked participants to

think about their Latine masculinity first, and questions related to country/region of

origin were placed towards the end of the interview. Or maybe by the time participants

were asked to specify how their country of origin influenced their masculinity, fatigue

had set in. Future studies should prioritize asking first about country of origin or asking

about region of origin only. Additionally, the sample size of this study made it

challenging to fully have a diverse sample of regions of origin. In this study, eight

identified as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano, one reported Central American

origin, three South American, and one Caribbean. Some of the participants reported

mixed background, such as having a parent from Mexico and a parent from Guatemala.

Another important factor to point out is that all but one of the participants was

born in the U.S. When asked about the region of origin many were unable to connect to

their country of origin, because they had never lived there. Sam explained:

> I was born here [referring to USA], it's not that I don't identity with aspects of
> their culture [referring to Bolivia], I really love things about Bolivia and like the
> culture there and the land and the setting. But I…like there's a fundamental
> difference from like them and me because I'm an American and I was born here.

Sam exemplified the idea that while influenced by his family and culture, there was little

that tied him directly to the country. He felt that his experiences were better explained by

his connection to a United Statesian identity as a Latine man. Exploration on the impact

of region of origin or country of origin might be more impactful with a sample of first

generation of 1.5 generation Latine men. JJ also had similar thoughts, as he pointed out

the part of his region that influenced him more. He stated:

> So, my parents are from Mexico, you know, born and raised, and they came here. Texas. So, the influence from there is of like not that impactful I would say, because I never went to Mexico. I never really went back and saw where it came from…I learned, you know, like region wise…I guess like city wise, I grew up in Houston.

Similarly, Anthony who was born outside of the state of Florida but moved to Miami

around the age of three months shared:

> I consider myself mostly from Miami, mostly American…I wish I could change that birthday certificate because I'm extremely proud of my city [referring to Miami]. And I love everything about the opportunity it has given me, my American roots, everything I learned over here…was raised here my whole life.

Both Anthony and JJ highlighted the importance of their city of origin, rather than their

country of origin, in helping them formulate identity, culture, and masculinity. They

seemed to find belonging and pride in their cities. For this sample, their construction of

masculinity within the context of the expectations of their cities provided more insight

into the intersection of region of origin and masculinity than country did. We present the

major themes expressed by these men around their *city* of origin rather than *country* of

origin below. We focused on Houston/Texas and Miami as these were the two cities that

our participants connected with most and discussed during this part of the interview.

Texas/Houston

We first discuss the common themes found among the men who spoke about the

influence of Texas and Houston in their construction of masculinity. Four of the 12

participants identified their region of origin as Texas, with three of them specifying

Houston as their city. These men all spoke about the influence of Texas in their

construction of masculinity, focusing on toughness, discrimination, pride, belonging, and

liberal mindsets. Manuel reported that:

> You know Texas, you know, the ranch hands. You know, they're tough. You
> gotta kind of put on for your state. So, you wanna be, tough. Texas is basically
> you know, tough, rough…these expectations have already been like they've been
> laid out for you before even know.

JJ agreed about the expectations of toughness in Texas and Houston, he noted:

> Guys from Texas are probably tougher than guys from like LA, you know. I'll say
> that like yeah, they portraited on TV, you know like the cowboys and all shit.
> That's just real, like you know, you're from Texas, you're supposed to be a little
> more rugged, a little more willing to get your hands dirty…fight a bear.

Manuel and JJ discussed the expectations of a man living in Texas, one that is rough,

tough, and rugged. They seemed to agree that part of the expectation of being a man in

Texas is to show strength through these characteristics. They used the imagery of a ranch,

with cowboys who are not scared to get their hands dirty. This point felt similar to one

discussed earlier about physical labor being attributed to manhood in Latine

communities, notably in Mexican culture.

In fact, Alex spoke about the similarities between Mexican and Texan culture in

which he simply thinks of as "mixed" as he shared:

> I'm from Texas. We all wear boots; we all wear hats… In Texas, especially in
> Houston, is a very mixed culture of like Texan and Mexican. It's like a handlebar
> mustache, very strong, very tough. When you mentioned culture, it's like taken
> from both…like you're Mexican but you're also American, and then you gotta
> find a way to combine it.

Alex also connected Texas to this ranch life, describing toughness and boots and hats similar to the imagery of cowboys and ranches described by Manuel and JJ. For Alex, there was a clear connection with Mexican roots that shaped the culture of Texas. He sees them as a mixed culture, a cocktail of Mexican and United Statesian flavors that defines masculinity with images of tough and rough cowboys, wearing boots and hats. He described the process of borderland space when he stated that he is both Mexican and United Statesian, and in the context of the U.S. and Texas, he feels a need to combine them together. He addressed the importance of finding a sense of identity between cultures in a manner where they can both be harmoniously combined.

These men began talking about Texan (and Mexican) culture with traditional tropes of toughness and roughness. However, they also addressed additional variables that allowed them to understand their masculinity with more complexity. Manuel and Andrés spoke deeper about what toughness meant for them in association with masculinity and growing up in Texas. They discussed toughness through endurance in the face of discrimination and finding pride and belonging within their Latine communities and other POC groups in the U.S. Manuel shared a story set in Texas in which he was playing soccer with his Latine friends against a team of white United Statesian guys. He disclosed that the other team started cursing at them for speaking Spanish calling them derogatory terms as the game went on. Manuel expressed his reaction to this story during the interview, as he stated:

> This is the racial mistreatment that I encountered a lot. Some guy telling me 'Oh gross, you're fucking Mexican'…it kind of toughened me up…you being discriminated, racially judged, I guess has shaped me to become more masculine, you know, like you gotta kinda like toughen up and accept the repercussions of

> being a Latino. Kind of integrating your masculine qualities back to being emotionless to criticism…you just kind of have to, you know, bounce it off of you and just keep going forward.

Manuel attributed the toughness and roughness of a place like Texas not so much to the traditional sense of working with your hands but instead of enduring discrimination by white United Statesian systems. He found pride in his ability to toughen up to these aggressions towards him and his fellow Latine people. He connected his masculinity to a toughness of being a Latine man in the U.S., having to deal with discrimination while being held to a standard of strength and emotionlessness of the hegemonic man. Manuel faced pressures from both expectations laid out for him, of being emotionless and tough as a man in Texas while experiencing hurtful moments of oppression for being Latine in his home state. He constructed his masculinity in the context of a racist U.S.

Andrés talked about his sense of belonging in Houston because of music he came to love, citing sounds and techniques like "chopped and screwed," and artists like Travis Scott and Mike Jones. He found pride in his connection to the city through music and through the experiences of DJs and rappers in his area. He also shared a moment of pride when speaking to his father about "making it" in the U.S.

> Growing up in Houston, growing up in the rough neighborhood. We come from a poor neighborhood but he [his dad] was like 'money ain't all that.' He was like 'at the end of day what you got is in your heart? What you got in your soul?' 'Don't let your soul be stolen'…. My view of masculinity is that. Always show love.

Andrés highlighted the importance of staying true to himself, of showing love, and maintaining his priorities straight as he pursued wealth and status in the U.S. His father's warnings are reflective of their experiences in Houston, growing up in poor neighborhoods, and yet being more concerned with maintaining authenticity than capital

gain. Andrés reflected on that and connected both with his city and his father in that moment, to find a sense of masculinity in the struggle of many Latine folxs. His account displayed the importance in the value of authenticity and pride in his people, above material and economic gain which is often associated with hegemonic and United Statesian masculinity (Acker, 2004; Cheng, 1999).

These men all spoke about the expectations presented to them as men of Texas, needing to display toughness in traditional senses. The idea of toughness informed their perception of masculinity, though it manifested in a variety of ways. For some it was through belonging to a city where they connected with the struggle both within their family and in the music they listened to. For others, it was an adaptation of toughness, mixed with pride and endurance to create resilience in their experiences as men and as Latine people in the U.S. Others combined the messages from United Statesian and Mexican cultures to understand themselves more holistically. Men who spoke about Houston and Texas tended to find pride in the toughness of their home city and state and used that influence that construct their masculine identities.

Conservative vs. Liberal Upbringing

Two of the participants discussed the influence of growing up in liberal and conservative spaces, and how that influenced their construction of masculinity. JJ shared how his pride in their city of Houston and an acknowledgment of his state of Texas influenced his masculinity by considering both conservative (Texas) and liberal (Houston) messages. He reported:

Being like in some sort of melting pot in Houston, like I guess it helped me out

> like to not be so narrow minded about the fact of masculinity, right…and just like being part of the city I guess it gave me the opportunity to like learn that you know that's not the only way [referring to toughness theme of Texas].

JJ shared this quote about how Texas men are supposed to be tougher than other men, like those of LA he mentioned in the quote before. In this instance, he spoke about how conservative ideas of masculinity were balanced with more liberal views he experienced in the city. He highlighted a borderlands space within state and city which was further influenced by a larger one between Latine and United Statesian culture. Similarly, Temo expressed how he found a balance between conservative and liberal messages between the two states he lived in. Temo shared about how experienced the difference between living in Oregon and Utah:

> So, I grew up in Oregon, it's very liberal state so it's a lot more open minded about things. It's not conservative like other places. Like where I go to school in Utah, where I go to BYU. It's a lot more conservative, where again more of like the man is the head of the household.

He continued speaking about the way he sees how this difference in environment impacted the type of conversations he was able to have about gender:

> It was kinda weird because like you could have good conversations about open-mindedness in Oregon but as soon as you got back to Utah, it was more like no. That's not the way things are done, because of this and that reason…We create the open-mindedness and like that influences the liberal sense around here [speaking about Oregon] where like that open-mindedness, that positive femininity coming into power, and I agree with a lot of things like that. And incorporate that into building that positive masculinity for me.

Temo acknowledged the impact of his environment in the creation of positive masculine identity for himself and for those around him. He acknowledged the impact of femininity in helping his own masculine construction within a setting that allowed such conservations to be had in the first place. One study examining the difference in

masculinity attitudes across rural, suburban, and urban areas in the U.S. found that urban men had more liberal views of masculinity than suburban men and rural men (Silva, 2022). However, these differences in spatial contexts where less marked for Black and Latine men than for white men, suggesting that the men who are disadvantaged by ethnicity and race were more likely to reject conservative views regardless of setting (Silva, 2022). These studies help understand the overall influence of living in urban spaces for creating more liberal views of masculinity for these men and how conservative views can be mediated by discriminatory experiences in such spaces.

Miami

Three of the participants spoke about the influence they felt in their masculinity due to an upbringing in Miami. For these men there was one major aspect from their city of origin which seemed crucially important to their masculine identity—appearance. Anthony spoke in depth about the connection he felt with the city of Miami, noting how he felt the city had given him all the opportunities he ever wanted. Jay also spoke about his pride in Miami, sharing "Miami is different from any other agency. Miami is its own little island. It's a melting pot of diversity man." For Michael, Miami was a place that effortlessly helped him connect with his Latine roots. He noted "when you're in Miami, you might as well be still in Latin America." Miami came up for each of these participants throughout the interview as they noted that Miami brought diversity in Latinidad, a party lifestyle, and an emphasis on appearance. Each of these men touched on how their appearance influenced the way they expressed and conceptualized masculinity.

Anthony discussed the importance of appearance for his sense of masculinity. He spoke about parts of his appearance that helped him feel masculine and some that did not. He explored the balance he found between both and the social pressures and benefits he noticed with each. Anthony shared "when it comes to masculinity, I would definitely say my family and my appearance…I'm tall but I don't have a beard…" Anthony spoke extensively about both his height and his facial hair during different parts of the interview. When talking about his height he noted:

> I would definitely say my appearance has helped a lot, I mean my height, that's definitely been big on my masculinity, like understanding my masculinity…people just treat me different you know, it's not something I asked for. Whenever we'd be picking for PE like captains and stuff like that, they be like 'hey, you, yeah!'

While Anthony shared about the privilege, he gained through being tall and growing in confidence because of it from childhood, he also noted his experiences of not being able to grow a beard:

> I can't grow a beard. I can't do it…all my friends have beards, so some girls, or people in general, would be like 'oh you can't grow a beard? Why?' They don't say that I'm not a man but they kind of just give me the sense that 'I'm like stunned,' you know?...like have I gone through puberty?...that's probably my biggest block when it comes to my masculinity.

Anthony valued his appearance highly in terms of defining his masculinity and coming to terms with the barrier to his masculinity of not having a beard, citing instances of other people judging his manhood because of this factor. While Anthony did not explicitly connect the importance of appearance to a Miami influence, it seemed to connect with the importance placed in Miami to proper appearance, style, and attractiveness.

Michael also spoke about the importance of having a beard for his sense of

masculinity in the way he presents himself. He noted:

> One thing I feel really secure in my masculinity as well is my beard. It's kind of like you know, I have not gotten rid of it in a very long time and I feel like it really does connect me to my masculinity. I'm not really even sure where that like idea came from, where like beard equals masculine but so you know, when I look in a mirror and I look at myself and I look at my beard, I'm like "wow," like "I like it." Like I feel a…in a way I almost, I do feel macho. I feel like it like it connects my physical appearance to like what I view is feeling male.

Michael explained that while he is unsure of exactly how he makes this association, it is an important piece of his masculine expression, to feel and be seen as physically masculine. Michael pointed out that while he does not embrace a traditional macho view of himself, he does appreciate expressing his masculinity through his facial hair. Michael added that when he is in Miami, as opposed to Virginia where he is currently studying, he seems to think about his appearance and masculinity in general. He shared that "maybe we take it too seriously as Latinos, but it's not something I don't think about nearly as often. Whereas when I'm back home…I'm more aware of it."

Jay expanded on the Miami culture and lifestyle that most people associate with the city. He noted "Miami culture is different because you know, Miami is about parties and raves and clubs…I've been blessed, luckily I have good looking parents. I'm a tall guy, I work out." Jay's account subtly pointed out the importance of being tall and being fit in Miami. He acknowledged the importance of being good looking in a place with the lifestyle that Miami is often about. However, when it came to his own definition of masculinity Jay focused on being a provider and a family man for his fiancé and daughter. He seemed to acknowledge that appearance is important, but less so where he is in life at the moment.

For these men growing up in Miami, there seemed to be a significant amount of importance placed on appearance to help conceptualize their masculinity. While it is unclear how much that is shaped by the Miami lifestyle, there was a small, shared theme among these three participants. No other worthy notes of associations between masculinity and city or region of origin were found in this study. In the end, the aim of examining region of origin as an important factor in understanding masculinity needs further exploration. In this study, this question was asked in a fairly broad and vague manner, which failed to elicit deep reflection. Additionally, the sample of men was too broad to fully conceptualize major themes in this section. Lastly, 11 of the 12 participants were born in the U.S., which suggests that for them region of origin might very well be the U.S. It is important to consider that for many of these men their country of origin, or at least that of their families, is often experienced through visits, stories from family members, or connections with members who live there. However, these participants do not live in those countries and mostly never have. It can be argued that these countries could be "frozen" in space and time, in that these men interact more with the country that has been shared to them by older generations, rather than the current attitudes of other educated, young men such as themselves who live in Latin America. Many of their attitudes towards Latine masculinity are often associated with one generation older, such as attitudes of parents, rather than ones which could be shared among contemporary men in these countries. Further research is warranted to dive into the attitudes of men in Latin American countries.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

The aims of this study were to (a) understand how culture and intersectional experiences shaped a shared sense of masculine construction for Latine men, and (b) give voice to and celebrate the diverse experiences of this construction based on a deeper dive into specific intersections of identities among these men. We utilized IPA to analyze and interpret data collected through semistructure interview, artifacts to represent personal views of masculinity, and member checking. Results indicated that participants rejected hegemonic standards of masculinity and adopted prosocial masculine construction, with some resemblance to themes connected to *caballerismo.* The creation of their masculine identity was influenced by participant's values, intersecting identities, experiences of privilege and oppression, and navigation of bicultural spheres. Participants shared accounts of how their experiences of privilege as men and their experiences of oppression as Latine folxs in the U.S. intersected to inform their gender and ethnic identity construction. These men shared the themes of (a) *endurance/sacrifice*, (b) *family/ community man*, (c) *confidence/pride*, (d) *humble leadership and service*, and (e) *emotional vulnerability* which were heavily influenced by Latine and United Statesian cultures. These participants were impacted by Latine values such as pride in their ethnic identity, humility, collectivism, and family connection (e.g., women in their lives) as well as by white United Statesian values like "being yourself" and open-mindedness around

sexual orientation and gender role expectations. Furthermore, they embraced a borderlands construction of masculinity, influenced by both United Statesian and Latine cultures, but unique enough to stand alone to construct a flexible masculine identity. The men in this study tended to display a parallel process in their borderlands construction of masculinity, though their identities and experiences of privilege and oppression were different, they followed a similar pattern of connection or disconnection with Latine and white United Statesian cultures.

We further explored the diverse experiences of these men by analyzing how their intersectional identities around sexual orientation, skin tone, and region of origin impacted their construction of masculinity. Findings highlighted that participants who identified as heterosexual tended to express inclusive attitudes about masculinity and sexual orientation, by rejecting hegemonic associations between the two. They did not expand much about how their "straightness" influenced their masculine construction, suggesting that their privilege in a heterosexual identity demanded little attention in this process. The two gay men in this study shared a significantly different experience, noting how growing up they struggled with the discrimination rooted in this connection between sexual orientation and masculine privilege in their communities. They expressed a borderlands construction of masculinity that displayed flexible expressions of self while breaking stereotypes from multiple cultures. In examining skin tone, most participants connected darker skinned men with more masculine traits through an association with hegemonic concepts of strength and toughness. Another two participants described the opposite relationship, connecting lighter skin with more masculine traits because of its

association with status, power, and wealth. Both of these men shared examples of oppression within family and workplace settings that led them to this association. Men discussed borderlands constructions of masculinity in consideration of their skin tone, ethnic identity, and masculinity that were implemented to maintain authenticity and safety in both United Statesian and Latine spaces. Lastly, participants expressed little connection between their region of origin and masculinity outside of a connection to their city. Themes around toughness and roughness in Houston and the importance of appearance in Miami were discussed. Overall, this section was designed to provide representation for unique and often unheard expressions of Latine masculinity created in the liminal spaces between these intersectional identities and cultures.

Implications and Future Studies

Intersectional experiences of privilege and oppression were crucial in the construction of masculinity among these Latine men. Masculinity studies on Latine men continue to use measures of unidimensional masculine construction, like *machismo* or *caballerismo*, which are limited in capturing the full experience of men. Instead, we support a movement towards masculine studies only in relation to other genders and contexts, for a more accurate understanding of how these social identities are created and expressed (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Some scholars of Latine masculinity have begun to adopt an intersectional understanding of this population's gender identity construction by examining race, class, education, and gender. For example, Hurtado and Sinha (2016) found that educational exposure, higher SES, and proximity to women

helped Latine men construct more feminist masculinities. This study adds that

experiences of privilege and oppression dictated by intersecting identities greatly impact

Latine masculine identity in the U.S. The men in this study discussed clear examples of

this process, like how discrimination based on their ethnic identity led them to reject

capitalist hegemonic masculinity standards and instead embrace ones around family and

community. They also illustrated more complex examples, like how the two men who

associated lighter skin, status, and wealth to more masculine traits both shared that

profound experiences of discrimination in home and work life led them to this

conclusion. This study also presented diverse constructions and relationships with

masculine identities for the purpose of increasing representation of masculine expression

for Latine men. To achieve more accurate understanding of masculinity for Men of Color,

future studies should measure positionality based on identities and culture of the

individual, with an emphasis on how dynamics of power and oppression shape such

constructions. Additionally, researchers, educators, and consumers of knowledge would

benefit from attending to their own intersectional experiences when consuming

information, in efforts to move away from rigid schemas around identity and into liminal

spaces that allow for flexibility and authenticity.

In response to these experiences of privilege and oppression, our Latine

participants tended to construct their masculinity through the process of breaking

stereotypes. They illustrated themes of *pride/confidence, endurance/sacrifice*, and

emotional vulnerability by rejecting and actively moving away from harmful stereotypes.

We saw examples of this at every level of analysis, starting with Genaro not wanting to

be seen as the "Latin lover" in rejection of racist and hegemony standards, to Andrés painting his nails to reject homophobic associations between masculinity and sexual orientation in Catholic-driven Latine spaces, to Jonathan and Michael discussing their identities as Latine gay men and choosing to represent their masculinity with pink gloves and a stuffed animal as their artifacts, and Kendrick choosing to represent his masculinity through his unity to his family rather than his position of power within it. There seemed to be an added layer of finding masculinity in active opposition to the powers that uphold masculinity in this country, in gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, skin tone, and more. Disidentification Theory, originally developed to understand the experiences of Queer Folxs of Color, helped us understand how this sort of opposition to oppressive systems empowers and creates opportunity for marginalized people to see themselves authentically (Muñoz, 1999). For these participants, the rejection of patriarchal, racist, and hegemonic masculinities allowed for an expression of authentic strength that was created through enduring oppressive experiences.

Additionally, the construction of borderlands masculinity was evident in this study, as participants found flexible masculine constructions that helped them maneuver multiple cultural expectations with safety and authenticity. This masculinity was developed within the context of their experiences of privilege and oppression and within the frameworks of Latine and dominant United Statesian cultures, and yet independent as a third transnational space often associated with bicultural experiences of Latine folxs (Anzaldúa, 1987; Lennes, 2019). Participants developed unique themes such as *pride/confidence,* in which pride for their ethnic identity combined with United Statesian

values of "being yourself," and *humble leadership and service,* in which Latine values of

humility and community and United Statesian attitudes around open-mindedness in

gender and sexuality created an authentic expression of gender identity. Ferro (2020)

found similar constructions of masculinity among a small sample of Dominican men who

utilized a borderlands space in their barbershop to collectively create liminal masculine

norms between Latine and white United Statesian standards. Increased ways to measure

and promote borderlands constructions of masculinity would be important in gathering

more complex understandings of how Latine men engage in this process individually and

in unison with other men. This study further found that feelings of belonging, and

community were important for Latine masculinity construction, as evidenced by

participants sharing the impact of brotherhood in Latine fraternities, mentorship to

younger Latine men, membership to family units, and inclusion in social circles.

Additional research around collectivism and masculinity for Latine men could increase

the effectiveness of educational interventions to helping these men construct borderlands

masculine identities in unison. In attention to collective constructions of masculinity

among Latine men, expansion on the impact of city of origin could be helpful as this

sample of men seemed to connect more with their city than country of origin.

Furthermore, the creation of borderlands masculinity served as a vehicle for

expressions of authenticity and safety in navigating different intersecting identities and

contexts. These participants had to adapt their masculine expression to account for

discriminatory experiences in their varied contexts. For example, Jonathan discussed

moments in which his environment forces him to enact more traditional expressions of

machismo as a shield against homophobia directed at him for his gay identity. JJ also

shared experiences in which he both lamented being discriminated against for his darker

complexion (with attributions of aggression and dominance) and utilized that same

stereotype to garner respect and safety to protect himself in spaces that feel unsafe. Veras

(2016) found that Black men of both light and darker complexions were aware of

pressures to adapt their display of hypermasculinity to either escape discrimination or

access masculine privileges. Furthermore, hypermasculine expressions among African

American men have been associated with protective mechanisms for navigating unsafe

and often discriminatory environments (Curtis et al., 2021; Swanson et al., 2003).

Displays of hypermasculinity, like *machismo*, have also been understood in Latine

masculinity literature as responses to Western colonialization and oppression (Castillo &

Abril, 2009; Hendy et al., 2022; Kynčlová, 2014). In analyzing borderlands masculinity

among Chicano men, Lennes (2019) demonstrated how negotiating expectations of two

cultures inspired Chicano men to reject white United Statesian masculine standards while

adapting their Mexican standards to fit their current U.S. environment. We argue that the

very essence of maintaining pieces of one's Latine culture is an expression of resistance

to acculturating fully into Western hegemonic masculine standards that are designed to

underserve Latine people. The Latine men in this study displayed Western

hypermasculinity for the purpose of finding protection in a system designed to oppress

them because of their identities. Navigating a borderlands space seemed to provide these

men access to more flexible expressions of masculinity as they navigated multiple

cultural expectations and different environments for safety and authenticity.

We suggest that borderlands spaces allow individuals to deconstruct unworkable masculine definitions that damage the self and others, and in that process allow them to assume a masculine expression that is authentic and functional. Hoffman and Addis (2020) utilized cognitive defusion in Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT; Hayes et al., 2012) in a case study to present how deconstructing masculinity can serve as a way to defuse from masculine standards that no longer serve the individual. In examining Chicano borderlands masculinity, Lennes (2019) highlighted how men are compelled to envision unique constructions of masculinity as they negotiate their status in this borderlands space, between two cultures. Our participants demonstrated this process as they naturally are engaging in defusion from dysfunctional schemas of masculinity depending on culture or context they are navigating. They are constantly having to conceive new expressions of masculinity that are not fully tied to tropes of either culture. Further exploration on the connection between borderlands constructions and ACT concepts of self-as-context and defusion would merge harmoniously to the already present process of borderlands construction that these men experienced. This line of work would be rewarding in helping bicultural, and also monocultural folxs explore their masculine identity. Bicultural identity formation has been shown to be more flexible when compared with monocultural folxs (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), suggesting that Latine people in the U.S., among others, could help propel movements away from rigid identity construction and expression.

The study of skin tone and masculinity among Latine men is still in its infancy. Our findings demonstrated mixed relationships; among most participants, darker skinned

men were deemed more masculine due to associations with toughness and strength, but for another two participants, lighter skinned men were deemed more masculine due to an association with power, status, and wealth. This study is among the firsts to investigate the intersecting effects of these factors for Latine men. Prior research was also mixed, with one study finding that among Latine gay and bisexual men, darker skinned was associated with more masculine traits and roles in sexual relationships (Carballo-Diéguez et al., 2004) while another suggested that given colorism in Latine and dominant United Statesian spaces, lighter skinned men might be deemed more masculine due to access to white privileges (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2014). We found the closest connection to our work with that of Black and African American literature, specifically in Veras (2016) that studied masculine perceptions between dark and light skinned Black men. Veras found associations similar to those expressed by the majority of our sample in which darker skinned men were deemed tougher and more aggressive which added value to their masculine status while lighter skinned men were seen as softer, sensitive, and less masculine. Despite that being the most common association, our study also showcased a strong relationship in the opposite direction suggesting that personal experiences and systems of power further contribute to this dynamic. Continued exploration on the mechanisms of this intersection between skin tone and masculinity for Latine men are needed to further understand the differences in such associations and the impact of personal experiences of privilege and oppression on this construct. These findings support movements towards studying Latine experiences with attunement for the varied experiences of this group of people.

An interesting observation around the discussions of skin tone and masculinity was that while our participants tended to reject traditional themes of masculinity when it came to their self-expression and conversations about sexual orientation, they seemed to adhere to them more when discussing skin tone. Men discussed associations with hegemonic themes to explain skin tone associations, such as toughness and physical strength when connecting darker skinned men to masculine traits. Alternatively, they associated power, status, and wealth when connecting lighter skinned men to masculine value. These associations made by our participants were understood as reflections of colonialism, stereotypes and discrimination, and privileges afforded to white folxs. There was an awareness that these associations were rooted in colorism, both our participants and those in Veras (2016) linked toughness and aggression with increased discrimination. When it came to privileges of lighter skinned men and masculinity, Veras reported that their sample viewed it through access to attract women more easily while we found that access to status, authority, and financial capital explained the connection. It is clear that these men are aware of systemic influences in this interaction, but further investigation is needed to understand exactly how it impacts their view of themselves. It's unclear why this was the only section in which men adhered to these traditional tropes of masculinity, but perhaps a lack of literature and communication around this level of intersectionality could explain it. Additional educational and clinical interventions around this intersection could provide deeper exploration for Men of Color as they embrace an additional layer of their intersectional experiences.

Last, development of specialized measures of skin tone for Latine phenotypes

would be helpful, to include more representation for Indigenous features that are often difficult to capture in skin tone research that focus mainly on light or dark skin differences. One study examining race and skin tone for Latine group identity argued that dichotomous discussions of skin tone often lack a full comprehension of skin tone diversity among Latine folxs (Clealand & Gutierrez, 2022). Given the mixed-race category among Latine people, an inclusion of more "medium," as opposed to simply lighter or darker complexions studied in the U.S., could be fruitful in this area of research. Additionally, a measure that captures phenotypical differences in facial structures, hair, and skin complexion would help more accurately capture the experiences of People of Color who are being analyzed by these features in their day-to-day lives.

Limitations

We identified several limitations of this study surrounding scope and recruitment. This paper aimed to capture the impact of multiple cultural forces in the construction of masculine identity among a diverse sample of Latine men. In doing so, intersectional identities of gender and ethnicity were first analyzed, and the addition of sexual orientation, skin tone, and region of origin were further explored. Thus, we found a breadth of knowledge around how intersecting identities and cultures, as well as experiences of privilege and oppression, combine to influence masculine identity formation. However, the interview questions were not designed for an in-depth investigation into the intricacies of any one of these three identity factors. Implications from this study provide an understanding of the borderlands construction of masculinity

when considering these intersecting factors, but not for creating a defined sense of clarity of how each identity factor shapes Latine masculinity at a generalizable level. This intention is aligned with our values of moving away from categorical findings of Latine people as a monocultural entity; however, we note this in the limitations to caution against attempts to generalize these findings to all Latine men. Because of the scope of this paper, we encourage future research to further unpack each of the intersecting identities we examined (and others) for deeper analysis.

Our study was limited in the recruitment of Latine men in multiple identities. First, the recruitment process was structured to grant greater access to young adults, social media users, and those with entry to the internet. We shared our recruitment flyers through Instagram and Facebook posts, personal connections, and academic email circles that were inherently connected to my identities as the primary researcher. For this reason, we ended up with a sample of young adults, between the ages of 20-29, with a mean age of 24.75. Our findings should be interpreted with the understanding that these men represent specific generational attitudes regarding the topic of study. We additionally found that this sample was highly educated with participants reporting the following level of education: two chose post-grad, seven chose bachelor's degree, another two an associates', and one picked some college. As noted in earlier work in Latine masculine studies, access to higher education, especially around gender and feminist literature has been associated with more prosocial constructions of masculinity (Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). The age range and highly educated skewness of this sample then suggests that these reported attitudes and expressions of masculinity might be unique to this group,

rather than to all Latine men. There might be an additional political bias in this sample since men who had access to the social media postings might be in social circles of similar political ideologies as the researchers. We adjusted the title of this study to include "young and educated" to "Latine men" with this consideration in mind.

We attempted to have a representative and diverse sample in other identity factors such as skin tone, region of origin, sexual orientation, and SES. In some respects, we achieved our goal; however, due to recruitment bias, small sample size, and time constraints we also had some limitations on our final sample. We would have liked to have more AfroLatine representation in our sample, as only 2 of the 12 participants identified as Black. We would have liked to have more diversity in sexual orientation and gender identity as 10 of the 12 participants identified as heterosexual and all of them as cisgender men. For these reasons, we also were careful not to present our findings as generalized conclusions for all Latine men.

Lastly, we would have liked to reconceptualize region of origin when we solidified our sample. Only one of the 12 participants reported that they were first, or 1.5 generation with the other's reporting second, third, and fourth generation of immigration. As noted in our analysis of region of origin, our sample did not connect with questions around their country of origin specifically but rather a larger Latine culture. The structure of the interview further contributed to participants having little to add about region of origin after already articulating their opinions when asked about Latine culture in general. Our sample of mostly second generation and higher Latine men thus struggled to provide much context about country of origin since their country of birth was, in fact, the U.S.

This realization prompted a reflection on the intentionality of Latine studies to separate Latine and United Statesian experiences. Instead, we humbly ponder if the very borderlands space we are studying is already becoming a dominant shared culture among second, third, fourth, and so on generational Latine people in the U.S. In other words, instead of studying Latine culture as a separate entity from United Statesian culture, future work would be better served beginning to understand "Latine American" culture as a purely distinct entity. Similar to our understanding of African American culture as its own essence in this country, that is not solely African nor solely "American," but one that encompasses its own collective. A culture that is no longer just African but equally not separate from United Statesian culture, and in fact monumentally impactful to United Statesian culture as a whole. We suggest that "Latine American" culture, that of United Statesian people with Latine heritage is already a collective shared entity. We do not assume to be the first to propose this realization but found it difficult to find other studies that explicitly expressed this notion. A major factor might be the difficulty in typing "Latin(a/e/o/x) American" into search engines and not finding Latin American works, those of people living in Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Cuba, or Colombia.

In considering region of origin and other "Latine" cultural factors like strict gender role and sexuality expectations, participants tended to associate these messages with older generations, like their parents and grandparents. They appeared to connect these cultural factors through their relationships with older generations in their families, which would make sense if the majority of them grew up in U.S. and had limited experiences in Latine countries. While we did not assess whether this was the case or not

for these participants, there is a suggestion that these men thought of machismo tropes as a "frozen" aspect of Latine culture. In this case we use "frozen" to delineate an occurrence, often common in heritage studies, in which the individual who emigrated envisions the culture of their home country the way it was when they lived there, or simply put, in the past (Ceccarelli, 2017). Literature on the matter has brought attention to how these "frozen" descriptions can fail to accurately depict the current culture of the home country (Ceccarelli, 2017). For the men in this study who are mostly second or higher generation "Latine Americans," their associations with certain Latine cultural aspects may be somewhat dated to the time when their parents or grandparents lived there. Future work could evaluate the intersectional and cultural factors influencing masculine identity construction among Latine men living in Latin America.

Reflections on Process of this Project

The data collection process was uniquely healing for me as I had the opportunity to share deep and often silenced expressions of vulnerability with fellow Latine men. It felt like we were breaking stereotypes by simply discussing the intricacies of our distinctively constructed masculinities. Many of the participants expressed that this was the first time they had the opportunity to consider their intersectional identities in relation to their masculine identity. These conversations produced closeness, connection, and tension at times as my perspectives and the participants' were felt throughout. I attempted to write the experiences shared by these participants as authentically as possible. During the interviews, I provided genuine reactions to their sharing of stories, artifacts, and opinions but held back from expressing my own, in hopes of not tempering the

exploratory nature of the research. Looking back, I would have engaged even more authentically through expression of my opinions with them in consideration of decolonizing my own schemas about proper research. Additionally, I felt pulled at times to enter into a clinical or educational role, in which I wanted to challenge and process the participant's responses. I chose not to do so, as the scope of the project was more aligned with finding the present meaning and not with providing an intervention during the interview. In the future, I would like to have a more active role than I did for this project and provide a more clinical intervention around identity exploration to assess how helpful these sorts of conversations can be for participant's mental health, well-being, and relational effectiveness. At the end I felt seen, heard, and connected to the way these men discussed their masculinity with me as I found myself reminiscing about my own journey and current dwelling with them. I wish I would have shared this personal gratitude with them in the moment, but it took me some time afterwards to understand it.

I noticed myself being pulled back and forth between wanting to create a decolonizing project while staying "true" to the requirements of qualitative work. In this process I learned that the very fabric of what is "true" is deeply embedded in Western standards of science and research. As a scholar I have equally internalized these messages, as it exemplifies the difficulty in separating ourselves from socialized experiences in personal and professional settings. I grew in my own development of the study of masculinity to instead embrace masculinities as plural form and unique expression. I continue to work on decolonizing the lens through which I interpret research to represent the inequitable systems present accurately and directly.

Final Acknowledgment

In a final conclusion, we want to acknowledge the influential impact of cultural and social theories that made this work possible. We thank the groundwork laid by collectives of scholars who spearheaded and who continue to build Feminist, Queer, Critical Race, LatCrit, Liberation, Intersectionality, Borderlands, Disidentification, and Cultural Relational theories (and more) in helping construct this study. We especially thank the work done by women, transgender and non-binary folxs, members of the LGBTQQIP2SAA+ community, People of Color, first generation immigrants, and all intersecting identities of members of society who have been underserved by hegemonic masculinity yet continue to lead us into healthier gender relations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Recruitment Posting

RESEARCH STUDY FOR LATIN MEN

The study is designed to inquire about Latinx men's masculinity.

If you are a Latinx/Latino/Hispanic man (18+) interested in participating please read below and visit https://tinyurl.com/LatinxMan
 to learn more.

Participation involves bringing an object representing your masculinity to a 1 hour long Zoom interview ($50 compensation) and an optional review of the findings ($25 compensation).

We will follow up with you via email once completed the survey @ https://tinyurl.com/LatinxMan. For more information please contact us at juan.estrada@usu.edu or renee.galliher@usu.edu (IRB #12298)

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form

Letter of Information

Latinx men's intersectional experiences of masculinity

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Renee Galliher, professor, and Juan Estrada, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Utah State University. The purpose of this research is to explore how Latinx men understand their masculinity based on interactions of different identity factors, such as skin tone, race, region of origin and gender.

This form includes detailed information on the research to help you decide whether to participate. Please read it carefully and ask any questions you have before you agree to participate.

Procedures

Your participation will involve completing a 3-minute online survey designed to gather background information to help us select a diverse group of individuals to invite for further participation (e.g., gender identity, ethnic identity, skin tone, region of origin). If selected, you will be prompted to choose an artifact (e.g., an object, piece of art, photograph, or lyric) that represents what your masculinity means to you. Then, you will participate in a 60-90-minute individual interview via zoom, assessing your thoughts about masculinity based on your background, region of origin, skin tone, race, ethnicity, and any other important factors in your life. We will discuss these issues, as well as talk about the artifact you chose. The interviews will be digitally recorded and transcribed for analysis. We will send you a copy of the transcription of your individual interview and our initial summary of the results of this study by email. We'll ask you to review it for accuracy or any additional comments you would like to add. We anticipate that approximately 12 people will participate in this research study.

Risks

This is a minimal risk research study. That means that the risks of participating are no more likely or serious than those you encounter in everyday activities. The foreseeable risks or discomforts include loss of confidentiality and some discomfort answering questions. Loss of confidentiality is a possible risk, due to the use of videoconferencing for the interviews and online participation in general. You have the option of turning off the video during the interview and participating through audio only. You will provide your name, email address, and mailing address so you may be compensated for your participation and contacted to review your transcript. There is some risk that your identity as a research participant could be disclosed, but the research team will store all of your information in a secure, password-protected folder on Box.com. There is also the possibility that you may experience some discomfort answering questions about your experiences as a Latinx person. In order to minimize those risks and discomforts, you may refuse to answer questions or discontinue the participation at any time. The research team will continuously review interviews and other data for signs of distress and will reach out to you if

we are concerned. If you have a negative research-related experience or are injured in any way during your participation, please contact the principal investigator of this study right away at (435)797-3391 or Renee.Galliher@usu.edu.

Benefits
Although you will not directly benefit from this study, it has been designed to learn more about Latinx men's masculinity experiences. Some information may help educators or clinicians to provide more culturally competent services for Latinx men.

Confidentiality
The researchers will make every effort to ensure that the information you provide as part of this study remains confidential. If you are not selected to participate in the full study after you complete the online demographic survey, your information be deleted. You will have the option of choosing a pseudonym so that your identity will not be revealed in any publications, presentations, or reports resulting from this research study. However, it may be possible for someone to recognize your particular response.

We will collect your information through video recordings and Qualtrics. Online activities always carry a risk of a data breach, but we will use systems and processes that minimize breach opportunities. Data will be securely stored in a restricted-access folder on Box.com, an encrypted, cloud-based storage system. You may choose how you would like to be quoted and credited for all data collection. The research team works to ensure confidentiality to the degree permitted by technology. Because the interviews are conducted via videoconferencing, your visual identity may be known to the researchers conducting the interview, unless you choose not to use video. Videos will be destroyed upon completion of data collection and transcription. Your name and email address will be destroyed after the interviews are transcribed and you have an opportunity to review the transcripts and results. We anticipate that all transcription and review of transcriptions will be completed by May 2023, at which point we will destroy all video and identifiable information. De-identified transcripts and survey responses will be kept indefinitely.

It is unlikely, but possible, that others (Utah State University or state or federal officials) may require us to share the information you give us from the study to ensure that the research was conducted safely and appropriately. We will only share your information if law or policy requires us to do so. If the researchers learn that you are going to engage in self-harm/intend to harm another, state law requires that the researchers report this behavior/intention to the authorities.

Voluntary Participation & Withdrawal
Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate now and change your mind later, you may withdraw at any time by simply exiting the survey, during the online interview, or by email. If you choose to withdraw after we have already collected information about you, the research team will destroy your interview transcript and survey information.

Compensation
For your participation in this research study, you will receive $50 for completing the online individual interview. You will be compensated an additional $25 for providing edits or comments on your transcript and the preliminary findings. You will only be compensated for the portions of

the study that are completed. You can choose to receive compensation via an online gift card of your choice delivered by email, or via a check sent by mail. Online gift cards can be delivered within one week of completing participation, and checks sent from the university may take up to one month to receive. Please know that if you receive more than $600 in payments from Utah State University in a calendar year (January through December), USU is required to report the payments to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and a W-9 will be required.

Study Findings

Identifying details will be removed from your information. These de-identified data may be used or distributed for future research without additional consent from you. If you do not wish for us to use your information in this way, please state so below.

Once the research study is complete, the researchers will email you the findings of the study, including qualitative thematic categories relating to participation in the study. We will send the findings from the study to the email you provide in the Qualtrics survey.

IRB Review

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human research participants at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this study. If you have questions about the research study itself, please contact the Principal Investigator at (435) 797-3391 or renee.galliher@usu.edu. If you have questions about your rights or would simply like to speak with someone *other* than the research team about questions or concerns, please contact the IRB Director at (435) 797-0567 or irb@usu.edu.

Renee V. Galliher, PhD
Principal Investigator
(435) 797-3391;   Juan Estrada, M.S.
Renee.Galliher@usu.edu   Student Investigator
                                                   juan.estrada@usu.edu

Informed Consent

By signing below, you agree to participate in this study. You indicate that you understand the risks and benefits of participation, and that you know what you will be asked to do. You also agree that you have asked any questions you might have, and are clear on how to stop your participation in the study if you choose to do so. Please be sure to retain a copy of this form for your records.

_____   _____
Participant's Name   Date

_____
Participant's Signature

Check below if you do not consent for your de-identified information to be used in future analyses.

OFFICE
of RESEARCH and
GRADUATE STUDIES
UtahStateUniversity
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Carta de Información

Experiencias interseccionales de masculinidad de los hombres latinos

Introducción

Usted está invitado a participar en un estudio de investigación realizado por la profesora Renee Galliher, y Juan Estrada, estudiante de postgrado del Departamento de Psicología de la Universidad Estatal de Utah. El propósito de esta investigación es explorar cómo los hombres latinos entienden su masculinidad en función de las interacciones de diferentes factores de identidad, como el tono de piel, la raza, la región de origen y el género.

Este formulario incluye información detallada sobre la investigación para ayudarlo a decidir si usted desea participar. Por favor, léalo detenidamente y haga cualquier pregunta que tenga antes de aceptar su participación en este estudio.

Procedimientos

Su participación implicará completar una encuesta en línea de 3 minutos, diseñada para recopilar información que nos ayude a seleccionar un grupo bastante diverso de personas que puedan participar en futuros estudios (por ejemplo, identidad de género, identidad étnica, tono de piel, región de origen). Si usted es seleccionado, se le pedirá que elija un objeto (por ejemplo, un objeto, una obra de arte, una fotografía o una canción) que pueda representar lo que su masculinidad significa para usted. Luego, participará en una entrevista individual de 60 a 90 minutos a través de zoom, para evaluar sus pensamientos sobre la masculinidad según su origen, región de origen, tono de piel, raza, origen étnico o cualquier otro factor importante en su vida. Discutiremos estos problemas, así como también hablaremos sobre el objeto que eligió. Las entrevistas serán grabadas y transcritas digitalmente para su análisis. Le enviaremos una copia electrónica de la transcripción de su entrevista individual y nuestro resumen inicial de los resultados de este estudio. Le pediremos que lo revise para verificar su precisión o cualquier comentario adicional que le gustaría agregar. Anticipamos que aproximadamente 12 personas participarán en este estudio de investigación.

Riesgos

Este es un estudio de investigación de riesgo mínimo. Eso significa que los riesgos al participar son los mismos que usted enfrenta en sus actividades cotidianas. Los riesgos o incomodidades previsibles incluyen la pérdida de confidencialidad y algunas molestias al responder preguntas. La pérdida de confidencialidad es un riesgo posible, debido al uso de videoconferencias para las entrevistas y la participación en línea en general. Usted tiene la opción de apagar el video durante la entrevista y participar solo a través del audio. Usted dará su nombre, dirección de correo electrónico y dirección postal para que pueda ser compensado por su participación y contactado para revisar su transcripción. Existe cierto riesgo de que su identidad como participante de la

investigación pueda ser revelada, pero el equipo de investigación almacenará toda su información en una carpeta segura y protegida por contraseña en Box.com. También existe la posibilidad de que experimente cierta incomodidad al responder preguntas sobre sus experiencias como persona latina. Con el fin de minimizar esos riesgos e incomodidades, puede negarse a responder preguntas o interrumpir su participación en cualquier momento. El equipo de investigación revisará continuamente las entrevistas y otros datos en busca de signos de angustia, y se comunicará con usted si estamos preocupados. Si tiene una experiencia negativa relacionada con la investigación o se lesiona de alguna manera durante su participación, comuníquese con el investigador principal de este estudio de inmediato al (435) 797-3391 o Renee.Galliher@usu.edu.

Beneficios

Aunque usted no se beneficiará directamente de este estudio, este ha sido diseñado para aprender más sobre las experiencias de masculinidad de los hombres latinos. Esta información puede ayudar a los educadores o sicólogos a proporcionar servicios culturalmente más competentes para los hombres latinos.

Confidencialidad

Los investigadores harán todo lo posible para garantizar que la información que usted proporcione como parte de este estudio permanezca confidencial. Si usted no fuera seleccionado para participar en el estudio completo después de completar la encuesta demográfica en línea, su información sera borrada. Usted tendrá la opción de elegir un seudónimo para que su identidad no se revele en ninguna publicación, presentación o informe resultante de este estudio de investigación. Sin embargo, puede ser posible que alguien reconozca alguna respuesta particular.

Recopilaremos su información a través de grabaciones de video y Qualtrics. Las actividades en línea siempre conllevan un riesgo de violación de datos, pero utilizaremos sistemas y procesos que minimicen las oportunidades de violación. Los datos se almacenarán de forma segura en una carpeta de acceso restringido en Box.com, un sistema de almacenamiento codificado basado en el sistema de archivo de la nube. Usted puede elegir cómo le gustaría ser citado y acreditado por toda la información suministrada. El equipo de investigación trabaja para garantizar la mayor confidencialidad en la medida en que la tecnología lo permita. Debido a que las entrevistas se realizan a través de videoconferencia, su identidad visual puede ser conocida por los investigadores que realizan la entrevista, a menos que usted elija no usar video. Los videos se destruirán al finalizar la recopilación y transcripción de datos. Su nombre y dirección de correo electrónico serán destruidos después de que se transcriban las entrevistas y usted tenga la oportunidad de revisar las transcripciones y los resultados. Nosotros anticipamos que toda la transcripción y revisión de las transcripciones se completará en mayo de 2023, a este punto nosotros destruiremos todos los videos e información identificable. Las transcripciones des-identificadas al igual que las respuestas de las encuestas se conservarán indefinidamente.

Es poco probable, pero posible, que otros (la Universidad Estatal de Utah o funcionarios estatales o federales) nos exijan que compartamos la información de este estudio para garantizar que la investigación se realizó de manera segura y apropiada. Solo compartiremos su información si la

ley o la política nos lo requieren. Si los investigadores se enteran de que usted va a auto-lastimarse / tiene la intención de lastimar a alguien, la ley estatal requiere que los investigadores informen este comportamiento / intención a las autoridades.

Participación voluntaria y retiro

Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Si acepta participar ahora y cambia de opinión más adelante, puede retirarse en cualquier momento simplemente saliendo de la encuesta, durante la entrevista en línea o por correo electrónico. Si decide retirarse después de que ya hayamos recopilado información sobre usted, el equipo de investigación destruirá la transcripción de su entrevista y la información de la encuesta.

Compensación

Por su participación en este estudio de investigación, recibirá $ 50 por completar la entrevista individual en línea. Se le compensará con $ 25 adicionales por proporcionar ediciones o comentarios sobre su transcripción y los hallazgos preliminares. Solo se le compensará por las partes del estudio que se completen. Usted puede escoger recibir la compensación a través de una tarjeta de regalo virtual de su elección, que será entregada por correo electrónico o a través de un cheque enviado por correo. Las tarjetas de regalo pueden ser entregadas dentro de una semana, los cheques enviados por la Universidad podrían tomar hasta un mes en ser recibidos. Tenga en cuenta que si recibe más de $ 600 en pagos de la Universidad Estatal de Utah en un año calendario (de enero a diciembre), la Universidad deberá informar de estos pagos al Servicio de Impuestos Internos (IRS) y usted deberá llenar la forma W-9.

Resultados del estudio

Los detalles de identificación se eliminarán de su información. Estos datos des-identificados pueden ser utilizados o distribuidos para futuras investigaciones sin su consentimiento adicional. Si no desea que usemos su información de esta manera, indíquelo al final de este documento.

Una vez que se complete el estudio de investigación, los investigadores le enviarán por correo electrónico los hallazgos del estudio, incluidas las categorías temáticas cualitativas relacionadas con la participación en el estudio. Enviaremos los hallazgos del estudio al correo electrónico que proporcione en la encuesta de Qualtrics.

Revisión de IRB

La Junta de Revisión Institucional (IRB) para la protección de los participantes en investigación humana de la Universidad Estatal de Utah ha revisado y aprobado este estudio. Si tiene preguntas sobre el estudio de investigación en sí, comuníquese con el investigador principal al (435) 797-3391 o renee.galliher@usu.edu. Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos o simplemente desea hablar con alguien que no sea del equipo de investigación sobre preguntas o inquietudes, comuníquese con el director del IRB al (435) 797-0567 o irb@usu.edu.

Renee V. Galliher, PhD   Juan Estrada, M.S.
Investigador Principal   Estudiante Investigador
(435) 797-3391; Renee.Galliher@usu.edu   juan.estrada@usu.edu

Consentimiento informado

Al firmar a continuación, usted acepta participar en este estudio. Usted indica que comprende los riesgos y beneficios de su participación, y que sabe lo que se le pedirá que haga. También acepta que ha hecho cualquier pregunta que pueda tener y tiene claro cómo parar su participación en el estudio si decide hacerlo. Asegúrese de conservar una copia de este formulario para sus registros.

_____   _____

Nombre del Participante   Fecha

_____

Firma del Participante

Marque abajo si usted no esta de acuerdo con que su información des-identificada sea utilizada en futuros análisis.

Appendix C

Demographic Screener

Demographic Screener

We understand some of this information can be sensitive and personal. However, we remind you all of the information you provide will be completely confidential. We hope you will answer these questions to the best of your ability as it is important we be able to explore experiences of people with different backgrounds.

1. Which categories describe you? Select all that apply to you: (SCREENER QUESTION – MUST ANSWER YES TO HISPANIC, LATINO, OR SPANISH ORIGIN)
   - ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native (e.g., Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe, Mayan, Aztec, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community)
   - ☐ Asian or Asian American (e.g., Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese)
   - ☐ Black or African American (e.g., Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somalian)
   - ☐ Hispanic, Latine, or Spanish Origin (e.g., Mexican, or Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadoran, Dominican, Colombian)
   - ☐ Middle Eastern or North African (e.g., Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Syrian, Moroccan, Algerian)
   - ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (e.g., Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Chamorro, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese)
   - ☐ European or White American (e.g., German, Irish, English, Italian, Polish, French)
   - ☐ Some other race, ethnicity, or origin, please specify:
     _____

2. Skin tone: Which of these numbers/images best represents your skin tone?

Scale of Skin Color Darkness

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10
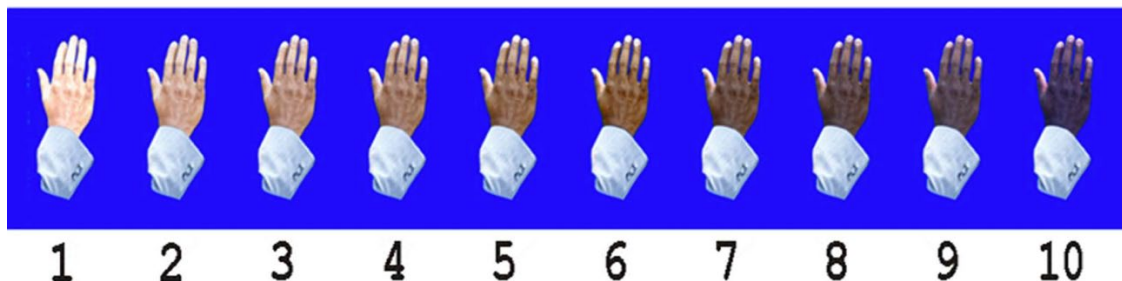
Taken from Massey et al. (2013)

3. With regard to your Latine background, what is your family's country of origin? (Check all that apply)
   - ☐ Argentina
   - ☐ Belize
   - ☐ Bolivia
   - ☐ Brazil
   - ☐ Chile
   - ☐ Colombia
   - ☐ Costa Rica
   - ☐ Cuba
   - ☐ Dominican Republic
   - ☐ Ecuador
   - ☐ El Salvador
   - ☐ French Guinea
   - ☐ Guatemala
   - ☐ Guyana
   - ☐ Honduras
   - ☐ Mexico
   - ☐ Nicaragua
   - ☐ Panama
   - ☐ Paraguay
   - ☐ Peru
   - ☐ Puerto Rico
   - ☐ Suriname
   - ☐ Uruguay
   - ☐ Venezuela
   - ☐ Another Hispanic, Latine, or Spanish origin: _____

4. Do you identify as multiracial or multiethnic?
   - ○ Yes
   - ○ No

5. What is your age in years? _____

6. How do you currently describe your gender identity?
   ○ Man, male, or masculine
   ○ Transgender man, male, or masculine
   ○ Woman, female, or feminine
   ○ Transgender woman, female, or feminine
   ○ Gender nonconforming, genderqueer, or gender questioning
   ○ Intersex, disorders of sex development, two-spirit, or other related terms
   ○ Other, please specify: _____
   ○ Prefer not to answer

7. Which category describes the highest level of education you have achieved?
   ○ Less than high school degree
   ○ High school diploma or equivalent
   ○ Vocational training
   ○ Some college
   ○ Associate's degree (e.g., AA, AE, AFA, AS, ASN)
   ○ Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BBA BFA, BS)
   ○ Post-graduate degree (e.g., Master's degree, medical degree, doctoral degree)
   ○ Other, please specify: _____

8. If applicable, which category describes the highest level of education achieved by a primary parenting figure?
   ○ Less than high school degree
   ○ High school diploma or equivalent
   ○ Vocational training
   ○ Some college
   ○ Associate's degree (e.g., AA, AE, AFA, AS, ASN)
   ○ Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BBA BFA, BS)
   ○ Post-graduate degree (e.g., Master's degree, medical degree, doctoral degree)
   ○ Other, please specify: _____

9. Do you consider yourself to be:
    ☐ Heterosexual or straight
    ☐ Gay or lesbian
    ☐ Bisexual
    ☐ Fluid
    ☐ Pansexual
    ☐ Queer
    ☐ Demisexual
    ☐ Questioning
    ☐ Asexual
    ☐ I identify differently. Please specify: _____
    ☐ I prefer not to answer.

10. Which social class group do you identify with?
    ○ Poor
    ○ Working Class
    ○ Middle Class
    ○ Affluent

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Interview Guide

1. What do you think of when you hear the word masculinity?

   a. How do you define masculinity for yourself? In what ways might you describe yourself as masculine or not masculine, and why?

2. How do you define masculinity for yourself?

   a. How we see ourselves as men is intertwined with other aspects of who we are, like our culture, our physical appearance, or family expectations. Can you talk about things in your background that have shaped how you think of yourself as a man?

3. What are some important cultural influences in your masculinity?

4. Tell me how your masculinity matters for your mental and emotional health.

5. How are your identity pieces part of your privilege and or discrimination?

6. Tell me about the object you brought with you to interview.

Potential Follow-up Questions:

7. How does your ethnicity fit into your sense of who you are as a man?

8. How does your masculinity impact your identity?

9. How does your skin tone/color impact your masculine identity?

10. What are other important factors that impact your masculine identity?

11. How was your skin tone, country of origin influenced your masculinity?

    a. explore ethnicity … talk about what it means to be ... e.g., Colombian vs Latine

CURRICULUM VITAE

JUAN J. ESTRADA

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EDUCATION

2017-2023   **Ph.D., Clinical/Counseling Psychology** (APA Accredited), *Utah State University*

2017-2020   **M.S., Clinical/Counseling Psychology**, *Utah State University*

2010-2014   **B.A., Psychology and Criminal Justice**, *Indiana University*

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Doctoral Internship
08/01/22-07/31/23   **Florida Atlantic University Counseling and Psychological Services**
Boca Raton, FL
Doctoral Intern
- Provided individual therapy in Spanish and English to diverse university students, offering a safe and inclusive environment for them to explore intersectional identities and address personal challenges
- Implemented integrative treatments for a range of presenting problems including complex trauma, discrimination, depression, anxiety, marriage/relationship concerns, and personality disorders
- Designed case conceptualizations based on evidenced-based practice and theoretical frameworks to capture client's presenting problem, therapeutic goals, identities, and current functioning
- Adapted treatment plans using culturally informed intake assessments and measurement-based progress measures (CCAPS) to improve clinical outcomes

- Collaborated with team of experienced professionals to design, implement, and evaluate the training program's methods, structure, and standards while serving on Training Committee
- Developed specialized proficiency in working with Latine populations though provision of individual and group therapy with Latine population, conduction of targeted outreach initiatives, engagement in therapy and supervision in Spanish and English, and co-development of a Latine support group
- Co-developed and facilitated a Latine Support Group and a Healthy Relationships group, and co-lead USO process groups and a Survivors of Trauma support group
- Effectively managed crisis situations, providing immediate support and implementing safety measures when addressing students in acute distress
- Actively engaged in ongoing professional development, attending supervision, workshops, and training seminars regularly to enhance cultural self-awareness and therapeutic skills
- Collaborated with other university agencies to customize outreach initiatives designed to address the unique needs and challenges of various student groups, such as survivors, and Latine students

Psychotherapy, Outreach, and Crisis Interventions

08/2021-07/2022   **The Family Place**, *Logan, UT*
Practicum Student Therapist
- Provided multiculturally adapted therapy in Spanish and English with child, adult, Latine, immigrant, LGBTQ+, and bicultural populations
- Implemented evidenced-based treatments with a trauma-informed focus, employing TF-CBT, CPT, G-PMTO, ACT techniques
- Serviced local community through outreach, education, crisis intervention, and individual and group therapy
- Provided services in-person and through telehealth

08/2019-06/2021   **ACT Specialty Services – Behavioral Health Clinic (USU)**, *Logan, UT*
Clinical Assistant Student Therapist
- Provided short-term, multiculturally-informed, evidence-based ACT interventions guided by complex case conceptualization to service USU student athletes, adolescents, and young adults

in the community

- Generated integrated reports using culturally informed intake interviews, diagnostic clinical assessments (DIAMOND), personality inventories (MMPI-II, PAI), and cognitive batteries (MMSE)
- Presenting concerns included social anxiety, OCD, specific phobias, depression, trauma, self-harm, relationship concerns, sports performance, and personality disorders
- Received expert supervision and training in ACT theory and practice via individual, group, and seminar based education

08/2020-06/2021   **Counseling and Psychological Services (USU)**, *Logan, UT*
Practicum Student Therapist
- Provided multiculturally adapted therapy to diverse groups of university students with intersectional identity focus on race/ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, spirituality, SES, and more
- Taught and presented workshops for outreach purposes to USU students on topics like identity and culture, anxiety, and mindfulness

08/2019-05/2020   **Box Elder High School**
Brigham, UT
Practicum Student Therapist
- Provided culturally informed counseling and clinical services to high school students at Box Elder High School during the school day using a range of evidence-based treatment, employing third-wave CBT techniques to guide intersectional identity exploration and healing
- Collaborated closely with school counselors and teachers to provide multidisciplinary and holistic care to the students

08/2018-07/2019   **Behavioral Health Clinic (USU)**
Logan, UT
Practicum Student Therapist
- Provided multiculturally informed individual therapy to university students, children, adolescents, and community members
- Generated integrated reports on Learning Disability and ADHD assessments

Outreach

2022-2023	**Doctoral Intern**
	Florida Atlantic University CAPS

- Developed and facilitated a variety of impactful outreach programs aimed at providing inclusion and mental health support to a diverse university student body
- Collaborated with university agencies to plan, organize, and execute workshops related to survivor support for "It's On Us" week, men of color's masculinity, Latine community building, mindful practice, and self-care
- Conducted interactive discussion and Q&A sessions during outreach events to create a safe and engaging environment for students

2020-2021	**Outreach and Workshop Presenter**
	USU Counseling and Psychology Services – Logan UT

- Delivered telehealth workshops on skills designed to help USU students with stress management, mindfulness, and time-management
- Customized outreach initiatives to address unique needs and challenges of student groups, including international and Spanish-speaking students

Administering Assessment/Report Writing

08/2023-07/2023	**Florida Atlantic University CAPS**
	Boca Raton
	Doctoral Intern

Assessments: Counseling Center Assessment of Psychological Symptoms (CCAPS), Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI), Autism Spectrum Quotient (AQ-10), Adult ADHD Self-Report Scale (ASRS~v1.1), Compassion Scale

08/2018-06/2022	**Community Psychology Clinic (USU)**
	Logan, UT
	Practicum Student Therapist/Graduate Student

Assessments: Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), Woodcock-Johnson IV Test of Achievement (WJ), Kaufman Test of Educational Achievement, Third Edition (KTEA™-3), Adult Behavior Check List (ABCL), Child Behavior Check List (CBCL), Child ADHD Self-Report Scale (ASRS), Barkley Adult ADHD Rating Scale-IV (BAARS-IV), Diagnostic Interview for Anxiety, Mood and Obsessive-Compulsive and Related Neuropsychiatric

Disorders (DIAMOND), Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI-II), Mini-Mental State Examination (MMSE), Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI)

TEACHING & TRAINING EXPERIENCE

University-Level Teaching Award

2021   **USU Robins Award for Graduate Student Teacher of the Year**
Utah State University, Logan, UT

Course Instructor

2022 (Spring)   **PSY 3210 – Abnormal Psychology,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Engaged students in an in-person version of PSY 3210 by creating interactive lectures
- Generated creative and structured opportunities for active learning with over 150 students
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering guest lectures
- Assisted student transitions to in-person after COVID-19 pandemic

2021 (Fall)   **PSY 3210 – Abnormal Psychology,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Engaged students in an online version of PSY 3210 by creating interactive lectures on Zoom
- Generated creative and structured opportunities for active learning with over 100 students
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering guest lectures
- Assisted student transitions to online platforms

2021 (Summer)   **PSY 1010 – Introduction to Psychology,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Engaged students in an online version of PSY 1010 by creating easy to follow and rigorous assignments and modules
- Pushed students towards academic success in the field of psychology while supporting them

- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and grading

2020 (Spring)   **PSY 4230 – Psychology of Gender,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Created rigorous lesson plans to motivate students towards structural gender equity while cultivating a safe and inspiring learning environment to feed the need of all students
- Facilitated class discussion and critical thinking through the use of technology, current studies, and open dialogue
- Balanced political, religious, and social opinions on sensitive topics, while maintaining a safe space for gender and sexual minorities
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering guest lectures

2019 (Fall*)*
Instructor   **PSY 3720 – Behavioral Assessment and Intervention,** Head

Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Engaged the class in rigorous knowledge-based learning on behavioral principles and theory
- Created opportunities for applied learning using behavioral-based interventions and therapies both in and outside of the classroom
- Adapted curriculum to meet student needs and interests throughout the course
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering guest lectures

2021 (Summer)   **PSY 1010 – Introduction to Psychology,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Engaged students in an online version of PSY 1010 by creating easy to follow and rigorous assignments and modules
- Pushed students towards academic success in the field of psychology while supporting them
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and grading

2019 (Spring)   **PSY 4230 – Psychology of Gender,** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT

- Created rigorous lesson plans to motivate students towards structural gender equity while cultivating a safe and inspiring learning environment to feed the need of all students
- Facilitated class discussion and critical through the use of technology, current studies, and open dialogue
- Balanced political, religious, and social opinions on sensitive topics, while maintaining a safe space for gender and sexual minorities
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering guest lectures

2018 (Fall) **PSY 4230 – Psychology of Gender (online),** Head Instructor
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Led online course using interactive modules, discussion boards, and videos to provide students with a respectful and challenging environment to discuss current issues
- Supervised graduate student teaching assistants in providing culturally-competent feedback to students and delivering grading

2016 **Greenheart Travel***, Grade 3 English*
Elementary School Teacher – Bangkok, Thailand
- Accepted into teaching travel program which aims to empower communities abroad by partnering with local stakeholders in these communities

2014-2016 **Teach for America,** High School Spanish I and II
Corps Member-Teacher – Piedmont Triad Region, NC
- Selected by a prestigious nonprofit organization focused on traditionally-underserved schools and students to pioneer the first-ever TFA program in Greensboro
- Increased year-end exam scores of students at an inner-city high school by motivating them to achieve their goals and educating them using lessons adapted to the students' different learning styles and abilities
- Built positive relationships aimed at helping students succeed, through weekly contact with parents and daily leadership in mentoring, coaching, and tutoring programs after school
- Exceeded expected growth to become a fully proficient teacher one year ahead of GCS guidelines
- Forged empowering relationships with students to encourage

social justice, personal and academic growth

Cultural Competency and Diversity Trainings

2018-2020   **Cultural Competency Training for Sixth-Graders,** Research Team Co-Instructor
Edith Bowen Laboratory School, Utah State University – Logan, UT
Supervisor: Melissa Tehee, J.D., Ph.D.
- Co-developed eight multicultural lessons pertaining to Native American culture and history, particularly surrounding the San Juan area of Utah
- Delivered eight in-person lessons at Edith Bowen Laboratory School to sixth graders

2019-2021   **Safe Passages 4 U Training,** Co-Instructor
Utah State University Library – Logan, UT
Supervisor: Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.
- Delivered in-person skills training for USU's library staff focused on developing cultural competency (self-awareness, knowledge, skills) in working with cultural others

2019   **Cultural Competence Course for Faculty, Students, & Staff,** Participant
Utah State University
Supervisor: Melissa Tehee, J.D., Ph.D.
- Delivered in-person skills sessions for five-week blended (in-person, online) training, to bring awareness of culture and Native history and lifeways into research pedagogy and mentoring styles; training was conducted in affiliation with USU's Native American STEM Mentoring Program

Supervision

2022-2023   **Clinical Supervisor**
Florida Atlantic University – Boca Raton, FL
- Developed and implemented individualized supervision plans tailored the specific goals of supervisees
- Utilized evidenced-based practice and theoretical frameworks to guide the supervision process and foster professional identity development of supervisees
- Implemented relational supervision approach and adapted style to account for identity, cultural, and personality differences of supervisees

- Monitored and evaluated supervisee's clinical cases, providing constructive feedback to enhance diagnosis, case conceptualization, intervention selection, and cultural considerations
- Collaborated with senior staff supervisors to ensure best care for supervisees' clinical progress

Training and Mentoring

2022-2023   **Training Committee Member**
Florida Atlantic University – Boca Raton, FL
- Co-lead and implemented scaffolded seminars for the extern summer clinical training
- Participated in discussion and developed strategies to improve training program for externs, interns, and post-docs
- Contributed to intern and extern selection committee, including filtering applications, conducting interviews, and ranking candidates

2018-2022   **Graduate Peer Mentor**
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Provided mentorship and support to paired first-year graduate students about issues related to graduate level requirements, expectations, and stress
- Fostered development of mentee through support, advice, and encouragement
- Guided mentee in navigating graduate school politics in meeting mentee's milestones

Graduate Teaching Assistant

2018 (Summer)   **PSY 4230 – Psychology of Gender**
Utah State University – Logan, UT.

2018 (Summer)   **PSY 3500 – Research Methods in Psychology**
Utah State University – Logan, UT

2018 (Spring)   **PSY 1010 – Introduction to Psychology**
Utah State University – Logan, UT

2017 (Fall)   **PSY 1010 – *Introduction to Psychology***
Utah State University – Logan, UT

<u>*Guest Lecturer*</u>
2018   **PSY 3210 – Abnormal Psychology**
                Utah State University – Logan, UT

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

DISSERTATION (*proposed*): *The Intersectional Experiences of Latine Men's Masculinity: An Exploration of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Skin Tone, and Region of Origin*
Chair: Renee Galliher, Ph.D.

THESIS: *School Ethnic Composition on Self-Esteem, Ethnic Identity and Academic Achievement*
Chair: Renee Galliher, Ph.D.

Manuscripts

Estrada, J., & Galliher, R. V. (2023). Moderating Effects of School Ethnic Composition of Acculturative Stress and Academic Outcomes in Latinx Youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *33*(2), 376-388.

Estrada, J., Barret, T., Blume, A., & Twohig, M. (In preparation). Culturally adapting Acceptance and Commitment Therapy.

Presentations

Estrada, J., & Gallaher, R. (2019, October). *Moderating Effects of School Ethnic Composition on the association between Cultural Variables and Academic Outcomes among Latine youth.* Poster presented at the National Latinx Psychological Association Conference, Miami, FL.

Grants Submitted

Mack, S. A., Ficklin, E., **Estrada, J.,** & Tehee, M. (2019, December). A trauma-informed approach to holistic wellness for college students of color. Psychological Science Research Grant, American Psychological Association of Graduate Students.

Mack, S. A., Ficklin, E., **Estrada, J.,** & Tehee, M. (2019, October). A trauma-informed approach to holistic wellness for college students of color. APA Division 45 Inaugural Student Research Grant, American Psychological Association.

Research Project Involvement

05/2019-Present   **SPARC Cultivating Connections,** Research Team Member
Supervisor: Melissa Tehee, J.D., Ph.D. & Breanne Litts, Ph.D.
Utah State University – Logan, UT
- Creating, implementing, and testing a cultural competency course to sixth-graders at Edith Bowen Laboratory School on USU campus
- Research tasks involve teaching, qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis, interviews, and course creation

ADDITIONAL SKILLS

Languages   English: native proficiency
Spanish: native proficiency

HONORS, RECOGNITIONS, & FELLOWSHIPS

2014-2019   **AmeriCorps Service Scholarship**
Teach For America, $13,000

2016   **Recognized as Inspiring Teacher at State of Our Schools Annual Gathering**
Guilford County Schools, NC

2016   **Voted Most Influential Teacher**
Walter Hines Page High School, Greensboro, NC

2016   **Sue Lehman Teaching and Learning Fellowship Award (nomination)**
Best TFA Teacher in the Nation

2016   **Raised money to feed the community in Greensboro (2nd hungriest city in the US)**
Out of Garden Project, $500

2010-2014   **Hudson and Holland Scholarship Scholar**
Indiana University, $2000 annually

2010-2014   **Phi Sigma Theta Honors Society**
Indiana University, $350 annually

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

2021-Present	**Volunteer at Athletic United Refugee Soccer Program** *Soccer Coach and Outreach*
2018-Present	**Volunteer at Cache Humane Society** *Canine Team Specialist, Highest Ranking*
2016	**Founder of Club UNIDAD** *Liberty and Identity Club of Greensboro, NC Latine youth*

AFFILITATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

2019-Present	**National Latinx Psychological Association**, *Member*
2019-Present	**American Psychological Association**, *Student Member*
2018-Present	**Psi Chi**, *Member*
2018-Present	**American Psychological Association of Graduate Students,** *Member*
2016-Present	**Teach for America**, *Alumni*
2014-2017	**North Carolina Society of Hispanic Professionals**, *Member*

SPECIALIZED TRAINING & CERTIFICATION

2021-2022	**Dialectical Behavior Therapy Foundational Course** Behavioral Tech (48 hours)
2021	**Cognitive Processing Therapy Training (web-based)** Medical University of South Carolina (25 hours)
2021	**Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (web-based)** Medical University of South Carolina (25 hours)
2021	**Utah Coalition Against Sexual Assault Training (web-based)** Utah Coalition Against Sexual Assault (25 hours)

2020	**Telepsychology Best Practices 101: Clinical Evaluation and Care: Cultural Competencies; Documentation –Segment #1** American Psychological Association (2 hours)

2020   **Telepsychology Best Practices 101: Clinical Evaluation and Care: Cultural Competencies; Documentation –Segment #1**
American Psychological Association (2 hours)

2020   **Telepsychology Best Practices 101: About the Tech... Video, Email, Text Messaging, & Apps –Segment #2**
American Psychological Association (2 hours)

2020   **Telepsychology Best Practices 101: Legal, Regulatory & Ethical Rules of the Road –Segment #3**
American Psychological Association (2 hours)

2019   **Acceptance and Commitment Therapy Workshop: Advanced ACT**
Utah State University (8 hours)
Supervisor: Michael Twohig, Ph.D.

2019   **Allies Training**
Utah State University (3 hours)
Supervisor: Melanie Domenech Rodriguez, Ph.D.

2018   **Safe Passages for U: Training on Advancing Diversity and Inclusion**
Utah State University (8 hours)
Supervisor: Melanie Domenech Rodriguez, Ph.D.

2018   **Fundamentals of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy**
Utah State University (3 credit course)
Supervisor: Michael Twohig, Ph.D.

2018   **Advanced ACT: Doing Experiential Therapy**
Utah State University (2-day workshop)
Supervisors: Jennifer Villatte, Ph.D. & Matthieu Villatte, Ph.D.

2016   **Teaching Apprenticeship Workshop/Class**
Utah State University (1 credit course)
Supervisor: Scott Bates, Ph.D.